

THE DEMOCRATIC VISION OF TEACHING LITERATURE:
PRESCHOOL BILINGUAL CHILDREN'S READING OF LITERATURE
WITH SOCIAL JUSTICE

BY

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DISSERTATION

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Abstract

In spite of the contributions of previous studies about children's literature, there is still a startling lack of knowledge about how children's literature that deals with racial/cultural diversity can be incorporated into preschool and bilingual children's classrooms. In order to address this gap in the research, this qualitative case study examined how literature with social justice themes can be employed as a tool to help preschool bilingual children develop their emergent notions about racial diversity and social justice. Particularly, this study investigated three research questions: (1) How do the preschool Korean-English bilingual children respond to African American characters in social justice literature? (2) What are the roles of the children's "creative participation" in reading books? (3) How do literary talks help the children develop their early understandings about racial diversity and social justice? As part of a nineteen-month longitudinal study, this study focused on six, five-year-old Korean bilingual children's reading of social justice literature at Ms. Park's classroom at the Korean Language School (KLS) in mid-western US.

The data were collected by (1) audio- recordings, (2) open-ended interviews, (3) children's artifacts, and (4) observational field notes, and analyzed by thematic analysis and sociolinguistic analysis. One of the findings was that the children exhibited their resistance to black characters, and their responses were shaped within social and cultural surroundings such as (1) the prevailing attitudes of their communities, (2) white-dominant surroundings, (3) media and parental influences, (4) negative images of the color black, and (5) difficulty in identifying themselves with the main characters. This study also found that, while exchanging responses and thoughts with peers and the teacher, the children were able to develop their critical attitudes

about different skin colors around them, and to explore their emergent notions about difficult social issues including race and discrimination.

The findings of this study suggest that social justice literature has the potential to help young bilingual children reduce their biased attitudes toward a certain racial group, and open their minds to people who have different skin colors from them. The findings also suggest that merely attempting to instruct bilingual children in dual language/literacy skills is insufficient to help them grow into empowered participants of global communities. Thus, the goal of a literacy program in young bilingual classrooms has to be that students learn not only literacy skills but also about the value and meaning of the human experience in our pluralistic society.

The detailed descriptions of bilingual children's literary discussions about social justice books can provide teachers and educators with the democratic vision of teaching literature in preschool and bilingual classrooms. From this perspective, this study will be beneficial for not only early bi-literacy educators but also for the broader community of educators interested in supporting democracy in classrooms.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

With an increasing interest in equity and social justice, many teachers and researchers have paid attention to how we can model a democratic classroom in a racially and ethnically diverse society in various contexts (e.g. Allen, 1996, 1997; Enciso, 1997; Garcia, 2003; Murphy, 2009; Willis, 1997; Zack, 1996). However, although many existing studies have created an important dialogue about teaching for social justice in adolescent contexts (e.g. Hosang, 2006; Lewis-Charp, Yu & Soukamneuth, 2006; Putnam, 2000; Sherrod, 2006), social justice issues have been rarely investigated in preschool or kindergarten children's contexts, due to the commonly accepted knowledge that preschool children are too young to deal with difficult social issues. In addition, since most of the early bilingual studies focused on vocabulary acquisition or sentence construction in two language contexts (e.g. Hu & Commeyras, 2008; Reyes & Azuara, 2008; Ro & Cheatham, 2009; Yaden & Tardibuono, 2004), little attention has been paid to social justice issues in bilingual contexts.

In order to address this gap in the research, this study examined how literature dealing with social justice themes can be employed as a tool to open discussions about racial/cultural diversity and social justice issues among young Koreans in a bilingual context. By adopting a qualitative case study approach, I observed six, preschool Korean bilingual children's reading of social justice literature during a read-aloud session in Ms. Park's classroom at the Korean Language School (KLS). By conducting this study, I aim to provide insights into how we, as teachers, can create environments in which young bilingual children can develop their understandings of race and social justice from an early age. From this perspective, this study

will be beneficial for not only early bi-literacy educators but also for the broader community of educators interested in supporting democracy in classrooms.

Background of the Study

As a person who was born and educated in Korea, I had very limited experiences with interacting with other racial/ethnic groups when I was in Korea. However, after moving to the US on account of my studies in 2005, I became particularly interested in African Americans and their cultures as I had a chance to interact with many African Americans. While working as a Research Assistant in the African American Studies (AAS) Department for two years, I was able to build close relationship with some black people. My direct interactions with them provided me with a valuable opportunity to think about my own prejudice toward African Americans, and the relationships between Koreans and African Americans.

Then, this issue became more pertinent to me as I had a chance to take care of my three young Korean nephews who visited the US in 2009 to learn the English language and culture. At their parents' request, I sent them to a day care center near my house for three weeks. However, my nephews at first refused to go to that school due to the many African American children in the center. Their parents also did not feel secure about the large number of African Americans living in that area either. While conversing with my nephews and their parents about their racial perceptions toward African Americans, I started to think more seriously about Koreans' racial attitudes toward African Americans.

As a more direct motivation to conduct this study, I observed some preschool Korean bilingual children's reading of literature at the KLS in October 2010, to determine their bilingual/biliterary development. While observing these children for almost two years, I noticed

that some of them had biased attitudes toward people with dark skin, and that motivated me to pursue this study.

Statement of the Problem

As cultural and racial diversity have increased through greater integration of diverse cultures into the mainstream culture, young children have numerous chances to meet people from different communities (Dresang, 2003; Ramsey, 1991, 2003; Soest & Garcia, 2003). In this situation, they often struggled with understanding all kinds of “differences” they meet in their everyday lives, especially when they contact a culture that is not from the mainstream perspective (Ramsey, 2003). As many scholars and educators have acknowledged that young children struggle in a diverse society, they have made efforts to facilitate children’s understandings toward racial, ethnic, gender, and cultural diversities in various classroom contexts (e.g. Ali & Ancis, 2005; Nichols, 1999; Pace & Lowery, 2001; Soest & Garcia, 2003). However, despite the efforts on teaching diversity in the past few decades, gaps among racial groups had noticeably widened (Vuckovic, 2008). Also, the number of hate groups continues to grow each year throughout the world; in 2006, there were 844 hate groups in the US (Boutte, 2008).

To understand the act of hatred, it is important to note that hatred often starts with a lack of understanding “differences.” Aboud (1988) argues that a lack of accepting differences is often related to prejudice, which is defined as “an organized predisposition to respond in an unfavorable manner toward people from an ethnic group because of their ethnic affiliation” (p. 4). The existence of prejudice is prevalent in most societies as a “unified” and “consistent” (p. 6) tendency of hatred. As a consistent tendency, prejudice is extremely dangerous because, once

people accept the biased idea, it remains hidden for a long time, and often triggers another prejudice (Aboud, 1988; Clark, 1988).

Racial attitudes among young children. As a negative quality, racial prejudice exists for all of us (Cullingford, 1992; Davey, 1983; Ramsey, 1991). However, many people think that we cannot discuss the issue of racial prejudice with young children because they “know little or nothing about such things as racial and ethnic matters” (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001, p. 4). Yet, a volume of literature argues that children understand their racial differences from their young age as they start direct observation of the world (Aboud, 1987, 1988; Augoustinos & Rosewarne, 2001; Sorin, 2003; Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001; Vuckovic, 2008). They also argue that preschool children’s prejudice often arises from their own dislike for differences, rather than simple imitation of their parents. Vuckovic (2008) argues that children’s prejudice to different ethnicities and cultures is especially serious in a preschool/kindergarten children’s context because, for younger children, “difference” is often related to fear. As they have an unsecured feeling in contacting other skin colors, they tend to develop negative attitudes toward other racial/ethnic groups. Consequently, the development of race awareness for preschool children does not always occur in a positive way.

Social justice in bilingual contexts. Although racial/ethnic diversity has been a fundamental characteristic in the US society (Boyd, 1999; Soest & Garcia, 2003; Vuckovic, 2008), “the White/Black binary” still serves “as normative racialized discourses in US society and educational research and practice” (Lei, 2006, p. 85). Within the Whiteness- as- norm and Black- as- margin discourse, the experience of “the Other” tends to be represented based on the experiences of African Americans (Ancheta, 1998). Ancheta (1998) indicates that this racial

dichotomy is problematic since a White/Black model fails to describe the complicated nature of discrimination among racial and ethnic groups.

Given this racial ideology, multiculturalism and bilingualism are often discussed in the binary contexts: multiculturalism in the context of White American/African Americans, and bilingualism in other racial groups including Asian Americans and Spanish Americans. With this binary discourse, there has been a paucity of studies examining social justice issues in a bilingual context while a large body of literature paid attention to these issues in either African American or White American contexts (e.g. Ali & Ancis, 2005; Copenhaver-Johnson, Bowman & Johnson, 2007; Copenhaver, 2000; Pace & Lowery, 2001; Soest & Garcia, 2003; Young, 1990). Particularly, Korean bilingual children's racial attitudes toward African Americans have never been investigated. This is especially problematic when we consider Koreans/Korean Americans' racial views toward African Americans.

Koreans/Korean Americans' racial attitudes toward African Americans. According to the Korean Statistical Information Service (2012), despite an increasing immigrant population in Korea in the last ten years, immigrants count for only around 1% of the whole Korean population. Most of the immigrants are Asians such as Chinese, Vietnamese, and Filipinos. Among Korean immigrant populations, African Americans comprise an extremely small percentage, most being connected to US military bases. The Korean government does not even have definitive numbers for the African Americans in Korea (see Korean Statistical Information Service, 2012). With a vast majority of population being of Korean ethnicity, Korea is still among the most ethnically homogenous nations (Park, 2006). Park argues that one of the reasons in which many Korean people are unprepared to accept a multiracial Korean society is because the government promotes the political ideology of *pure blood nationalism*, which

emphasizes the purity of Korean blood, and the “common bloodline” as a tool to make its people tractable. Choe (2009) also points out that the Korean people have been taught to take pride in their “ethnic homogeneity.” Within this ideological discourse, the majority of mixed-race children in Korea suffer from ostracism simply because they are from foreign countries (Cho, 2010).

As Korean people’s racial views have been strongly affected by the racial hierarchy that places whites at the top (Asante, 2000), blacks are often regarded as inferior in Korean’s racial hierarchy (Park, 1997). Given this discourse, there have been very limited interactions between Korean American and African American children (Asante, 2000; Min, 1997, 2000).

With limited interactions, many Korean bilinguals often develop prejudiced notions toward African Americans such as “African Americans are lazy and dishonest,” and “many of them are drug addicts and alcoholics” (Min, 1997, p. vii). As African Americans’ perceptions toward Koreans have also been influenced by the same doctrine, African Americans have also developed prejudiced notions toward Korean Americans such as “*Korean Americans look up whites too much*”, “*Korean Americans think all blacks steal*,” *Korean Americans are apolitical and apathetic* (Asante, 2000, p. 14. Emphasis in original).

Literature dealing with social justice theme. As a tool to create a classroom where children can appreciate “differences,” many scholars and educators have claimed that it is important to create learning environment that helps students understand cultural and ethnic diversity (Nelson, 2005; Nieto, 1997, 2004; Cai & Bishop, 1994; Ramsey, 2003). For this goal, children’s literature dealing with cultural, racial, ethnic, and other diversity themes has been emphasized as an important tool for children to contact complex social issues and appreciate the varied cultures (e.g. Bishop, 1990, 1992; Cai, 2002; Desai, 1997; Harris, 1990, 1992, 1997;

Nieto, 2004; Spears-Bunton, 2009). They argue that multicultural literature can help reduce young children's prejudice about cultural/ethnic differences and inspire democratic attitudes by encouraging them to appreciate these differences.

Yet, there is still a startling lack of knowledge on how children's literature can be implemented as a tool to develop young bilingual children's early understandings about racial/ethnic/cultural diversities. Given this imperative, this study investigated how social justice literature can work as a medium to help young bilingual children to develop positive attitudes toward racial/ethnic/cultural diversity.

Research Questions

In investigating young bilingual children's reading of social justice literature, I focused on the following three research questions.

- How do preschool Korean bilingual children respond to social justice literature, particularly black characters?
- What are the roles of the children's "creative participation" (Iser, 1974, p. 283) in reading social justice literature?
- How do literary talks help the children to develop their emergent notions of racial diversity and social justice?

In answering each question, I lay out my theoretical framework drawing on different schools of thoughts. In order to answer how children responded to literature, I adopted reader response theories. In addition, I drew on a sociocultural theory, especially Vygotsky's concept in order to gain insights into the roles of social interactions in relation to literacy activities. In addition, in regards to the issues of equity, social justice and multicultural issues, I drew on

diverse works of previous researchers and scholars who investigated multicultural education, and multicultural literature.

Definition of Terms

As many educators use literacy terms and phrases without specifying their meanings, it often causes confusion (Lankshear, 1997). The goal of this section is to provide background knowledge on how several core terms were defined in this study. Since social justice is an extremely complex and controversial term, I start by discussing what social justice means in this study.

Social justice. According to Soest and Garcia (2003), social justice can be defined differently based on its goals. First, from a utilitarian perspective, justice means “what maximize the greatest good for the greatest number of people” (p. 46). In this view, it is still determined as social justice as long as it is good for the common good (Sterba, 1985). However, from a libertarian perspective, the distribution of resources is naturally uneven because it occurs by means of social lottery. Thus, in this school of thoughts, the goal of justice is to maintain individual freedom by allowing “the widest possible latitude of freedom” (p. 46).

In contrast to the libertarian view, a human rights perspective sees social justice as including satisfaction of basic human needs based on the assumption that human rights are inherent in our nature. This view focuses on how human rights in individual lives enhance quality of life. Based on human rights perspective, this study approaches social justice as “reproduction of and respect for group differences without oppression” (Young, 1990, p. 47), rather than distribution of benefits among society’s members or the allocation of resources and

wealth. That is, the goal of social justice is (1) to promote respect for differences, and (2) to enhance full participation of everyone for social equity.

Based on this definition, this study sees social justice for young children's context is more than simply sharing their belongings with peers. Rather, it means understanding and respecting differences, and challenging stereotypical and prejudiced thinking in a socially and culturally diverse society. Similarly, teaching for social justice to young children means to help them to grow up as democratic individuals who are more respectful of racial/ethnic diversity with mutual trust.

More specifically, social justice in this study focuses on racial issues in the African American context such as the civil rights movement, racial segregation, discrimination, racial prejudice, equality, slavery, freedom, and equity. I paid particular attention to social justice in the African American context because, as indicated earlier, Korean people's racial attitudes toward African Americans are not positive. The participating children also revealed less favorable feelings toward African American characters when compared with European and Latino Americans. In addition, the children were exposed to negative parental comments about African American people.

Race. Like the term social justice, race is also a very complicated term. According to Walker, Spohn and Delone (2000), race traditionally referred to "biological divisions of mankind, which are distinguished by color of skin, color and texture of hair, bodily proportions, and other physical features" (p. 5). When we approach race based on this traditional view, the racial groups can be identified as Caucasian, Negroid, and Mongoloid. However, this study rejects this strict biological approach. Zatz and Mann (2002) argue that "race is not a fixed identity" (p. 2) because one's color is determined in the political context. For example, the meaning of being an

African American in the United States is determined by social, economic and political factors. Thus, the meaning of *being black* in 2012 is different than it was under slavery. Soest and Garcia (2003) also claim that race is socially constructed as it is closely linked to social, political and economic power. Based on this notion, this study considers race as socially constructed and produced “through sociopolitical meanings that arise from perception and are maintained through social interaction” (p. 37). As I approach race not as biologically determined but socially constructed, the important facet of race is not a facial feature but the social significance placed upon that within the context of power and privilege.

Literature with social justice themes (or Social justice literature). In a category of literature dealing with social justice themes, I include all literature that challenges stereotypical attitudes toward the mainstream, white middle-class American norms, and reflects the racial, ethnic, gender, and social diversity in our pluralistic society. However, because I have chosen to limit the meaning of social justice to racial issues in the African American context, social justice literature in this study means books or other writings that deal with racial diversity and social justice issues in an African American context such as the civil rights movement, racial segregation, discrimination, slavery, freedom, equality, and equity. It also includes issues related to friendships between children with different skin colors, and the stories of African Americans who made significant contributions to the American society.

Multicultural literature. Multicultural literature is broadly defined in this study as literature that “incorporates nationality, ethnicity, class, gender, religion, disability, age, sexual orientation, family status, geographic difference, linguistic variation, and any other possible differences from the mainstream culture” (Cai, 2002, p. 7). That is, multicultural literature deals with cultural diversities between groups including “ethnicity, gender, age, sexual orientation,

religion, ability, and class” (Soest & Garcia, 2003, p. 3). In addition, based on the notion that teaching and learning diversity is closely related to exploring alternative ideas within a broad context of social justice (Nieto, 1999), I approach the issue of cultural/racial/ethnic diversity as inseparable from issues of social justice. In summary, the definition of social justice literature has many attributes associated with the conceptions/definitions of multicultural literature.

Critical thinking. As the term critical thinking is also widely used without clear definition, this study adopts Freire’s view of critical thinking: According to Freire (1982), critical thinking means “thinking which perceives reality as process, as transformation, rather than as a static entity” (p. 81), and “thinking which does not separate itself from action, but constantly immerses itself in temporality without fear of the risks involved” (p. 81). By adopting Freire’s definition of critical thinking, this study sees critical thinking as “transformative” thinking that questions authorities, rather than cognitive thinking employed in problem-solving and assessing accuracy.

Bilingual. Defining a bilingual is a difficult task because there is no absolute criterion for assessing bilingualism (Shin, 2005). Some people view bilingualism as “two monolinguals joined at the neck” (Zentella, 1997, p. 270). However, this study resists this concept. Rather, I adopt the definition of bilingual as “people who can functionally utilize two different languages for different purposes in various situations to meet given needs” (Ro & Cheatham, 2009, p. 291). Also, because bilinguals are differentiated by those who are already bilingual and those who are in the process of becoming bilingual (Garcia & Kleifgen, 2010), bilingual children in this study means children who are *becoming* bilingual and whose language development exists “within a bilingual continuum” (p. 3).

Multicultural education/bilingual education. This study approaches bilingual education within a big umbrella of multicultural education by adopting the Soest and Garcia's (2003) notion that both multicultural education and bilingual education have the same goal, which is "to prepare professional social workers to transform oppressive and unjust systems into non-oppressive and just alternative" (p. 4).

By conducting the current study, I hope to contribute to filling the gap in the academic literature related to children's response to literature, multicultural literature, reading literature in a bilingual context, and the role of literary talks about race and social justice. The fundamental goal of this study is to pursue educational equity and quality by providing a more democratic vision for teaching and learning literature in young bilingual children's classrooms.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Introduction

In exploring young Korean bilingual children's reading of literature dealing with social justice themes, this study was informed by previous studies related to (1) multicultural education or other studies concerning diversity, equity, and social justice, (2) reader response theories, and (3) a sociocultural theory. In the first section of this chapter, I focus on the role of multicultural literature in a culturally and ethnically diverse society. As an effort to understand the appropriateness of discussing social issues with preschool/kindergarten children, the first sub-section begins with a discussion about preschool children's emergent perceptions toward other racial groups. Then, the second sub-section discusses Korean/Korean American's racial discourse about African Americans, and the relationships between Koreans and African Americans. After that, I move on to discuss the role of multicultural literature as a medium to encourage young children to understand racial, ethnic and cultural diversity.

The second section of this chapter includes a discussion about reader response theories focusing on Louise Rosenblatt, Wolfgang Iser, Richard Beach, and Lawrence Sipe. The first sub-section explores the transactional nature of reading from a reader response approach. Then, the second section investigates how readers' responses are constituted within a social and cultural frame. The last sub-section explores reader responses in young children's context.

The last section investigates children's reading of literature in connection to a sociocultural theory. The first sub-section discusses how learning can be defined from a sociocultural perspective, focusing on Vygotsky's notion of the *Zone of Proximal Development*

(ZPD). Then, the second sub-section examines the role of literary talks in literature classrooms.

The last sub-section reviews prior studies focused on the role of literary talks about race in young children's contexts.

Literature with Social Justice Themes

With increasing cultural and racial diversities, multicultural education has been emphasized by many scholars and educators for the last few decades (e.g. Ali & Ancis, 2005; Banks, 1995, 2004; Boyd, 1999; Gollnick, 1980; Grant & Tate, 1995; Nieto, 2004; Sleeter & McLaren, 1995; Soest & Garcia, 2003). They argue that multicultural education is associated with the benefits for *all* children regardless of gender, ethnicity, and class because it promotes human rights, social justice, cultural diversity, and equal opportunity. As a way to encourage multicultural awareness, many previous studies claim that multicultural literature can provide children with opportunities to develop critical perspectives about differences that they meet as a part of daily experiences (Bishop, 1992, Brook, 2006; Harris, 1990, 1992, Cai, 2002; Nieto, 1997).

This section investigates the role of multicultural literature as a medium to teach children racial/ethnic/cultural diversities and foster critical attitudes needed in a democratic society. In order to understand the role of multicultural literature, I start by discussing how racial issues have been investigated in preschool and bilingual contexts.

Race in a preschool children's context. Despite the emphasis on multicultural education, many teachers avoid discussing race-related issues with young children (Dresang, 2003; Polite & Saenger, 2003). In order to understand this phenomenon, the first sub-section

discusses how the notion of children/childhood is constructed in different historical and ideological contexts.

Social construction of the notion of children. According to Cunningham (1995), the notion of children/childhood cannot be studied in isolation from ideological discourse of society because it has been constructed in the history of Western society since 1500. For instance, in ancient Europe, children were marginal to society because “children were regarded as physically weak, morally incompetent, mentally incapable” (p. 26). In the ancient world, the hallmarks of childrearing were “infanticide, sale of children, abandonment and wet-nursing” (p. 19). Yet, during the Middle Ages, “to be a child” came to be an honored state as Christian belief emphasized that young children have a soul. Also, because children started to be seen as a crucial source of labor in the family economy (LeVine & White, 1992), the birth of a child was greatly welcomed during this period as a future laborer who would contribute to the financial security of the family.

However, with the establishment of industrialization by the middle of the 20th century, the vision of childhood started to focus on their dependence because they were no longer economic necessities (Cunningham 1995; Kagan, 1976). Dresang (2003) also argues that the most prevalent image of children during the 20th century was “children-as innocent-and in-need-of-protection” (p. 21) as the romantic poetry in the 19th century enhanced the idealization of children as innocent and simple beings. Given the idealization of children, the concept of the young child was often viewed as inherently innocent and dependent organism (Kagan, 1976). The history of childhood/children demonstrates that the discourse of children is constructed within a political and ideological context.

Given the ideological discourse of children as innocent and simple beings, many contemporary teachers and educators still think that the difficult social issues should not be discussed in young children's classrooms. However, despite the dominant notion that preschool children are not capable of understanding their racial identities, previous studies argue that preschool children understand racial differences by distinguishing themselves from other racial and ethnic groups (e.g. Aboud, 1987; Clark, Hocevar, & Dembo, 1980; Morland & Hwang, 1981).

Preschool children's perception on race. Preschool children can differentiate their skin colors from other racial groups because preschool children's development of an ethnic identity starts from their early age (Aboud, 1987; Spencer, 1988; Spencer & Horowitz, 1973; Rosenberg, 1979; Williams & Morland, 1976). Also, their own racial/ethnic identity is closely related to their preferences toward other racial and ethnic groups (Clark, 1988; Clark, Hocevar & Dembo, 1980; Morland & Hwang, 1981). For example, Clark, Hocevar and Dembo (1980) argue that young children have their preferences toward race, and it is related to their own race. Morland and Hwang's (1981) comparative study of 200 preschool children in different racial groups also claim that children's racial identity and their racial preferences/prejudice are highly related to each other.

In addition, Van Ausdale and Feagin (2001) claim that "children as young as three and four employ racial and ethnic concepts as important integrative and symbolically creative tools in the daily construction of their social lives" (p. 26). Augoustinos and Rosewarne (2001) also support this notion by arguing that even three-year-old children can be aware of human differences. Taken collectively, these studies support that preschoolers are aware of racial/ethnic matters as "independent actors and constructors" (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001, p. 26). Thus, by

the time children are around six, most children have “a solid concept of racial and ethnic distinctions” (p. 189). This notion challenges the pervasive view that preschool/kindergarten children do not understand racial and ethnic differences. Although they do not know the term “race,” they already acknowledge the differences of skin colors and the values that place upon different skin colors (Eder, 1990). However, racial issue has rarely explored in a bilingual children’s context because most previous research studies were conducted in either Caucasian American or African American contexts. This is particularly important when we consider some challenges of bilingual children.

Challenges of bilingual children. Although the number of bilingual children enrolled in most US schools increases each year (Mace-Matluck & Hoover, 1986; Yi, 2008), due to the lack of appropriate supports, children from the non-mainstream US culture often encounter difficulty in schools such as low academic achievement (e.g. Cummins, 1986; Minami, 2000; Willig, 1986). According to Minami (2000), children from diverse cultural backgrounds are often struggling with the feeling of isolation from the day-to-day experience with their peers. As “White culture” is the “host culture” in the US (Cummins, 1986), when young bilingual children enter schools, they struggle to be adjusted to a new speech and cultural surroundings. Given the difficulties in the unique setting of the classroom, students from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds often fall below the schools’ academic expectations (Mace-Matluck & Hoover, 1986; Trueba, Guthrie & Au, 1981; Willig, 1986).

In addition, many bilinguals confront a variety of barriers in most public and private schools (Cummins, 1996; Darder, 1995; Fitts, Winstead & Weisman, 2008; Garcia & Kleifgen, 2010; Igoa, 1995; Ovando & Collier, 1985). For example, bilingual students have limited opportunities to receive quality instruction because a large number of minority students go to

schools located in indigent districts (Willig, 1986). Their challenges also can include (1) cultural conflicts between the school and home, and (2) the lack of sufficient curriculum materials in two different language surroundings (Darder, 1995). In these surroundings, “culturally diverse students are disempowered educationally in very much the same way that their communities have been disempowered historically in their interactions with societal institutions” (Cummins, 1996, p. iii). Cummins (1986) argues that it is important to understand bilingual children’s challenges within the political and ideological discourse of bilingualism.

The political context of bilingualism/bilingual education. With regards to bilingual children’s low academic performance, traditional studies often explained “bilingualism causes academic difficulties” (Cummins, 1986, p. 6). In this conceptual base, bilingual children are often labeled as “the learning disabled” (Willig, 1986, p. 191) since they believed that bilingual children’s low academic achievement is highly related to “their own inferiority” and “their own failure” (p. 24). Within the political discourse of “bilingual handicaps” (Cummins, 1986, p. 6), some teachers still attribute bilingual children’s academic failure to bilingualism, rather than the lack of appropriate support from the community to develop bilingual children’s academic competence.

In addition to bilingualism, bilingual education itself is also a politically sensitive context with the multiple variations of program models and designs. For example, according to Ovando and Collier (1985), bilingual education is the “extremely confusing” (p. 37) context because there are many different program models such as transitional bilingual education, maintenance bilingual education, and immersion bilingual education; the model of bilingual instruction is determined based on philosophical-political goals of a bilingual education in each school district. Also, many variables exist regarding classroom design including “who teaches” (e.g. a team, a

teacher and an aide, or a teacher alone) and how to approach to teaching two languages (e.g. concurrent approach or alternative language approaches). With these variables, a different classroom design is often decided according to the different needs of each school (Cummins, 1996; Garcia & Kleifgen, 2010).

As seen above, bilingualism and bilingual education are not politically neutral contexts. Yet, since most studies conducted in bilingual contexts have focused on dual language learning, social justice issues have been rarely investigated in a bilingual context. Particularly, race issues have never been investigated in a Korean bilingual context. The following section focuses on why Korean bilinguals are particularly important contexts to investigate race and social justice issues.

Korean bilingual context. According to United States Census Bureau (2010), the total number of Asian population is 14, 674, 252, which is 4.8 percentage of total population in the US. Compared to the 2000 Census, Asian population increased by 43 percent from 10.2 million in 2000 to 14.7 million in 2010. This indicates that, in the US, the population of Asian group increases faster than any other major racial group. Among Asian immigrant populations, Yi (2008) points out that “Korean Americans have been one of the fastest-growing groups in the total U.S. immigrant population” (p. 72). With an increasing Korean population, more studies have been conducted in Korean bilingual children’s context including several dissertations (e.g. Joo, 2005; Park, 2007) and papers (e.g. Baker, 2005; Ro & Cheatham, 2009; Shin & Milroy, 1999). However, despite a grown number of Korean bilingual studies, racial issues have never been investigated in the Korean bilingual context.

Korean Heritage Language School (Korean HL Schools). According to Park (2007), Korean HL Schools help Korean bilingual children to develop a Korean identity and to

encourage an appreciation for Korean heritage. However, recent studies have acknowledged that one of the greatest challenges at Korean HL Schools is students' low motivation caused by "the tedious and unproductive" curriculum (Shin, 2005, p. 157). Shin (2005) argues that, with traditional teaching techniques, most instructional time in Korean HL Schools is spent on "rote learning, drills and memorization" (p. 157). Also, since textbooks that most students use in Korean HL schools are directly imported from Korea, textbooks are formatted based on Korean learning styles. In addition, most teachers in Korean HL schools see themselves "as primary transmitters of knowledge and expect passively to absorb materials taught in a largely lecture-style manner" (p. 157).

Since the curriculum at Korean HL schools focuses on rote learning, racial issues have been rarely discussed in the Korean HL Schools. Given this context, we know little about Korean bilingual children's racial attitudes toward African Americans. In order to understand Korean bilingual's views toward African Americans, we first should be aware of the larger historical context of the relationships between Korean Americans and African Americans.

The relations between Korean Americans and African Americans. According to Min (2000), Koreans and African Americans have similar cultural backgrounds as both groups were oppressed for a long period of time (e.g. slavery and the Japanese occupation). In that situation, both groups also developed a "collective despair" (p. 7) expressed by *blues* in the African American culture and *haan* in the Korean culture, as an emotional expression of sorrow, anger, bitterness, and helplessness. Koreans and African Americans also share similar historic experiences as labor sources in the American history (e.g. plantation labor and cheap contract labor) (Twomey, 2000).

However, despite the similarity between these two cultures, tension arose due to economic stability (Diaz-Veizades, 1993). Twomey (2000) argues that, during the 1980s and 1990s, conflicts between Koreans and African Americans arose in New York City and Los Angeles as Koreans started a number of small businesses such as grocery stores, dry cleaners and other small retail stores in black areas. As a result of this tension, several tragic events occurred. For example, four Koreans storeowners were killed by African Americans during robbery attempts in 1986 (Chang, 1990). Also, in LA in 1991, a young African American girl and two black males were shot by the owners of Korean stores.

However, Asante (2000) argues that the conflict between Korean American and African American existed even before Koreans started coming to the US. Since Korean people's views on African Americans were strongly influenced by the racial hierarchy of whites through media, by the time the Korean immigrants came to the US, they already had a high degree of white racism (Park, 1997).

Koreans' racial attitudes toward African Americans. African Americans have a unique history in American history due to their original slave status (Rome, 2002). As the legacy of slavery still affects racial attitudes toward African Americans through media such as radio, television, and film, the images of African American was depicted with negative stereotypes such as black males as "criminals," "oversexed" or "potential rapists" and black female as "wanton, hot-blooded, and very fertile" (Fishman, 2002, p. 179). Blacks are also portrayed as the lower classes through media (Park, 1997).

Since most Korean people encounter African Americans through media, many Koreans have biased attitudes toward African Americans. Although no academic study has investigated this issue, some unofficial documents have identified the problem as follows:

The Korean is certain that there was relatively less prejudice against black soldiers at the time of Korean War. But there is no question that since then, Koreans (and Korean-Americans alike) developed strong prejudice against black folks...(omitted). To put it bluntly, many Koreans and Korean Americans tend to be racist toward black people. (Ask a Korean, 2007)

The problem of Korean people's biased attitudes toward African Americans was also acknowledged by an African American teacher who lived in Korea for two years.

In two years in Korea, I've met two black people. In five years in Asia, I've met two Black people. Koreans view blacks as inferior people. Many Koreans see blacks as being lazy because they don't own corner shops and try and imitate the white man. It's realistic that any person who looks foreign to a homogenous nation such as Korea is bound to face some level of discrimination. Don't forget- there's a reason that Korea is called the Hermit Kingdom. (Korean Job Discussion Forums, 2003).

However, other individuals challenge this view, saying "I have met a lot of African Americans here teaching English" or "that does not mean every Korean hates blacks." Although some bloggers reveal conflicting views, most of them agree that many Koreans hold some kind of prejudice against blacks. Due to racial prejudice against African Americans, African and Korean mixed children are not welcomed in Korea. One blogger pointed out this problem by sharing his friend's experience as follows:

He visited Korea as a child with his mother and was spat on and generally abused in public, his mother was treated like a leper because she as Korean had a black/mixed race son. If your child is half white, that is very acceptable, but not black. Obviously in a city like Seoul there are more people who are open minded, but for the most part Korea is very narrow minded when it comes to black colored people. African/ Korean mixed children are scorned by Korean society. You will find that there is prejudice against black people in all of Asia. (Korean Job Discussion Forums, 2003).

These examples present negative stereotypes of African Americans in Korea. In fact, Korean people's negative views toward African Americans were aggravated in the last two years due to some recent incidents in Korea. For instance, in September 2011, there was incident that a 24-year old African American teacher in Seoul struck the face of a 61-year-old man and threatened him. According to the Joong-ang Daily (2011), the incident took place as an African

American man was talking with a loud voice in a bus with his Korean girlfriend, and the old man tried to calm him down. In this process, the old man's Korean word *nee ga*, which means "you" in Korean, caused the black man to lose his temper since he misunderstood that word as "nigger," and he thought that the old man insulted his race. As several video clips were taken by passengers and appeared on major web sites, many Korean people became upset and demanded strict punishment.

As another incident, in 2010, a 26-year old African American English teacher, who operated online under the nickname Quincy Black, posted a video of him having sex with a Korean girl (Han, 2010). With his master's degree in the US, he taught English to elementary school children at the largest English village in Daejeon for around two years. This incident made many Korean people upset since, although he did some illegal activities, he did not receive any punishment and simply left the country. As these two incidents were recreated by media, these occurrences started to be portrayed by media as Korean/Black racial collision. These incidents also seriously hurt Koreans' views toward multiculturalism itself because, after several negative incidents, more Koreans started to see supporters of multiculturalism as "매국노" [a traitor to his/her country] and multiculturalism itself as "민족문화 말살 프로젝트" [a project to obliterate Korean culture] (Hong, 2012).

Given this historical and cultural background, the interactions between Korean American and African American children are very limited (Min, 2000; Park, 1997). Min (2000) points out this problem as follow:

Just like their parents, the problem in the relations between African Americans and Korean American children is that there are little of no real human relations between them. Their relations or interactions are largely unknown and hidden. They may develop their own systems of negativism and prejudice. (p. 3).

This provides rationale for why we should create classrooms where young children can appreciate cultural/racial/ethnic differences from an early age. As an important tool to achieve this goal, many scholars have emphasized the role of multicultural literature.

The role of literature with multicultural/social justice themes. According to Rosenblatt (1946), as the image of “the American melting pot” (p. 464) has changed to the more constructive image of “*an orchestration of individual and group*” (p. 464, emphasis in original), human beings have created diverse cultural patterns as the ideological framework. In these diverse social and cultural patterns, “what is considered normal temperament or behavior in one culture, or even at one epoch in a civilization, may be disapproved of as abnormal in another” (Rosenblatt, 1978, p. 150). As “differences” are shaped as “reaction to the dominant pressures” (Rosenblatt, 1946, p. 460), it is important to welcome differences “as a national asset” (p. 465) and cultural differences as “cultural alternatives” (p. 465).

To this end, Rosenblatt (1946) argues that “critical attitudes” are especially important because “only by turning a *critically* appreciative eye upon our own and other cultures, our own and other literatures, shall we avoid either excessive smugness or excessive humility” (p. 465). As a way to encourage critical attitudes, Rosenblatt claims that literature plays important roles. Since “literature, by its nature, helps to bridge those differences” (p. 460), it encourages self-awareness and self-criticism by permitting readers emotionally into other lives. The role of literature as a tool to connect human differences has been particularly emphasized by multicultural literature in the last few decades.

Multicultural literature. A large body of literature has claimed that multicultural literature provides children with valuable opportunities to contact the outside worlds around them and value many different cultures (e.g. Bello, 1992; Bishop, 1992; Brooks, 2006; Harris,

1990, 1992; Cai, 2002; Nieto, 1992; Levin, 2007, Willis, 1997). For example, Howard (1991) argues that culturally and ethnically conscious literature serves as a powerful tool to understand *differences* and confront “all the preconceived stereotypical hang-ups that imprison us within narrow boundaries” (p. 92). Harris (1992) also claims that children’s literature dealing with people of color and other cultures can encourage children’s positive attitudes toward other ethnic and racial groups. Brooks (2006) supports this notion by arguing that literature that reflects racial, ethnic and social diversity can work as a tool to advance democracy and equality, and foster students’ learning about racial/ethnic/cultural diversity.

More recently, a growing number of researchers have paid attention to the role of multicultural literature as a tool to open discussions about race (e.g. Allen, 2008; Copenhaver-Johnson, Bowman & Johnson, 2007; Dresang, 2003; Lavin, 2007; Zack, 1996) and gender (e.g. Anderson & Many, 1992; Pace & Lowey, 2001; Schall and Kauffmann, 2003). They all argue that, as “a mirror that reflects human life” (Bishop, 1992, p. 43), literature dealing with diversity and equity issues works as a tool for social change by encouraging children’s critical awareness about social issues and provides students with a chance to contact diversity, injustice, and unfamiliar cultures (Brooks, 2006; Brooks & Hampton, 2005).

As these existing studies argue, culturally and ethnically conscious literature serves as a pedagogical approach to teach diversity and social justice. Also, it works as a medium “to understand a complex understanding of culture,” and “a strong commitment to social justice, a transformative mission, and implementation of the emancipatory paradigm” (Garcia, 2003, p. 2). The role of literature “*as the basis for social change*” (Nieto, 1992, p. 208, emphasis in original) is particularly important when we consider that children’s literature has complex connections to differential relations of power within the political context.

The sociopolitical context of children's literature. According to Freire and Macedo (1987), texts are social constructs that reflect some of the ideas and beliefs held by some groups of people. Gee (1996) also claims that literacy is always situated within political contexts since discourses are intimately related to the distribution of social power in society. As different discourses are made by particular social or cultural groups, every text is created in hierarchical structure in society. In other words, texts are not freed from a political discourse because “the cultural world is constantly in the process of being shaped and made by human deed in accordance with ideological representation of reality” (Lankshear & McLaren, 1993, p. 43).

The social construction of texts explains that children's literature is also influenced by conflicting discourse or structure (Bishop, 1992; Harris, 1990; Cai, 2002; Nieto, 1992). For instance, according to Nodelman and Reimer (2003), sharing an adult view of the world has been the main emphasis of children's literature because “children's literature represents an effort by adults to colonize children: to make them believe that they ought to be the way adults would like them to be” (p. 97). Dresang (2003) also supports this by claiming that many children's books are intended “to instruct children with moral messages in order to protect children from evil” (p. 22). These arguments demonstrate that children's literature reflects dominant ideology. The political context of children's literature as an ideological tool also can be explained in relation to stereotypes.

Stereotypes in children's literature. With damaging representations, stereotypes of people of color are pervasive in American society (Bishop, 1992; Brooks & McNair, 2009; Harris, 1990). According to Bishop (1992), “a substantial portion of children's books about people of color are created by Euro-American writers” (p. 41). This tradition has been used to evaluate children's literature, treating whiteness as a norm (Bishop, 1992; Enciso, 1997;

MacCann, 2001; Taxel, 1992). Harris (1990) also supports this by arguing that children's literature reflected the notions of "White Supremacy."

Within this context, many of the subjects in children's literature were represented as stereotypes as a simplified representations, (Bishop, 1992, 1997; Brooks & McNair, 2009; Cai, 2002; Harris, 1990, 1992; Nieto, 1997). Perkins (1979) argues that stereotypes are problematic because (1) stereotypes confirm the legitimacy of the groups' oppression, and (2) stereotypes are "selective descriptions of particularly significant or problematic areas and to that extent they are exaggerations" (p. 155).

William's notion of "selective tradition" also supports this argument. According to William (1977), the selective tradition is "an intentionally selective version of a shaping past and a preshaped present, which is then powerfully operative in the process of social and cultural definition and identification" (p. 115). Stereotypes are highly related to this selective tradition since, with selective tradition, certain meaning and images are selected while other images are excluded for a certain purpose.

These arguments indicate that children's literature is not simply an aesthetic literary work but "a literary vehicle in understanding the historical, political, spiritual, and sociological experiences" (Brooks & McNair, 2009, p. 141). In this sense, children's literature should serve as "cultural mirror" and "social catalyst" (Appleman & Hynds, 1993, p. 120). For this goal, multicultural literature plays important roles to help young children to understand real-life problems such as cultural pluralism and racial diversity.

However, "books alone cannot substitute for integral changes" (Bishop, 1997, p. 44). Thus, literature instruction also should not just extracting information from books for a didactic

purpose. This notion is best explained by reader response criticism. The following section discusses a reader response approach as an important theoretical base for this study.

A Reader Response Approach

According to Purves (1990), there are three views of the domain of literature: (1) literature as part of the language arts to promote skills in reading and writing, (2) literature as an independent subject classified by genre, data, author and so on, and (3) literature learning “as aspect of aesthetic perception” (p. 87), which is best expressed by reader response criticism. Reader- response theory is the theory associated with “the work of critics who use the words reader, reading process, and response to mark out an area for investigation” (Tompkins, 1980, p. ix). Modern research on readers’ responses to texts began in the 1920s with I. A. Richard and Louis Rosenblatt (Tompkins, 1980; Squire, 1994). Yet, although they developed their theories on literary responses relatively early, reader response theory remained underdeveloped for forty years under the influence of New Criticism (Beach, 1993; Sipe, 2008).

However, as the theories of reader response started to find more supporters during the 1970s and 1980s, many theorists and psychologists have paid attention to the role of the reader as an important counterpart of text (Cai, 1997, Iser, 1978, Langer, 1993). By standing in total opposition to New Criticism, these theories rejected the idea of single meaning in the text (Beach, 1993; Cai, 1997; Davis & Womack, 2002; Marshall, 2000). With this influence, literature started to be seen as a tool to “critique the world we live in and to imagine other, more just and equitable alternatives” (Sipe, 2008, p. 7).

Before discussing reader- oriented criticism, it is important to note that reader-response criticism is not conceptually unified because a range of perspectives are developed with different

purposes such as Langer's (1967) "subjective and objective realities," Rosenblatt's (1978) "aesthetic and efferent readings," Britton's (1970) "spectator and participant roles." With these different perspectives, Cai (1997) classifies these theories into three groups, uniactional, transactional, and interactional, based on the relation between the reader and text. On the contrary, Beach (1993) groups them into five categories: textual, experiential, psychological, social and cultural, according to a theorist's primary theoretical perspective.

Given these diverse perspectives, this study focused on the theoretical approaches of four selected theorists, Louise Rosenblatt, Wolfgang Iser, Richard Beach, and Lawrence Sipe; in discussing the nature of reading, I relied on Rosenblatt's transactional view. When examining readers' "creative participation," I adopted Iser's notion of "gap filling." In exploring social and cultural aspects of readers' responses, I was informed by Beach's reader response approach. Also, Sipe's theory was adopted as a theoretical guidance to understand young children's response. The first sub-section starts from discussing the nature of reading, focusing on the goal of reading, the role of reader and text, and what happens during a reading act.

The nature of reading. From a reader response perspective, reading is a transactional act, which involves an active interplay between reader and text (e.g. Iser, 1974, 1978; Karolides, 1997; Langer, 1992; Scholes, 1985; Rosenblatt, 1978, 1983). As a dialectic act between reader and text, reading explores the value and meaning of human experience. This notion is best explained by Rosenblatt's transactional theory.

According to Rosenblatt (1978, 1983, 1994), the reading process is a *transaction* between reader and text. In her interview with Karolides (1999), Rosenblatt indicates that she prefers the term *transaction*, instead of *interaction*, because *transaction* has the idea of "a continuing to-and-fro, back and forth, give-and take reciprocal or spiral relations in which each conditions the

other” (Karolides, 1999, p. 160). By using the term a *transaction*, Rosenblatt approaches reading as “a nonlinear, dynamic, dialectical process in which we continually interpret our interpretations” (Berthoff, 1999, p. 80). Since reading is a dynamic process, from Rosenblatt’s perspective, “the meaning does not reside ready-made *in* the text or *in* the reader but happens or comes into being during the transaction between reader and text” (Rosenblatt, 1994, p. 1063).

The transactional view proposed by Rosenblatt galvanized many other theorists and educators such as Langer, Iser, and Karolides. Among them, Iser’s theory is particularly consistent with Rosenblatt’s conception of reading as transaction. Like Rosenblatt, Iser (1974, 1978) claims that reading is a dynamic interaction between text and reader. Since readers organize the various data offered them by the text, any successful “transfer” depends on the extent to which the text can activate “the individual reader’s faculties of perceiving and processing” (Iser, 1978, p. 107). Iser calls this dynamic process between reader and text as “recreation,” which is the process that awakens responses of readers. Since reading involves this recreation process, Iser (1974) claims that reading is a process of “active interweaving of anticipation and retrospection” between reader and text (p. 282).

The transactional view helped me to understand the nature of reading. Since reading is a dynamic act between reader and text, the nature of reading is “the dialectic apparent and lively” (Berthoff, 1999, p. 79). By adopting this transactional view, this study approached a reading process as transactional in nature.

The purpose of reading. According to Rosenblatt (1978, 1994), there are two kinds of reading -*efferent* and *aesthetic*. The efferent reading is the kind of reading that is concentrating on information for any given purpose such as reading a newspaper, and textbook. Rosenblatt calls this approach *efferent* from the Latin *efferre* in order to convey the meaning that this type of

reading is “impersonal, repeatable, verifiable” (Karolides, 1999, p. 165). However, since reading is not just a matter of simply extracting from texts, she uses the term *aesthetic*, which is *aisthetikos* in Greek, to focus on inner experiences in reading such as the personal images and feelings (Rosenblatt, 1978, 1994). Although the two stances are distinguishable, Rosenblatt emphasizes in her several works that a dualistic view of stance is inappropriate because the reading has to fall somewhere in a continuum.

The view of reading as a continuum between efferent and aesthetic stances provided me with important insights to understand the purpose of reading: reading is not simply to extract information from texts as it involves readers’ emotional experience such as anger, sadness, envy, fear, and love. Since reading involves readers’ inner experiences, “there is no absolutely correct reading of any text under any circumstances” (Cai, 2001, p. 22). From this perspective, the goal of reading is not to pursue one definite interpretation. Rather, reading is to explore human experiences, rather than taking out information from texts.

In addition, the notion that *there is no correct reading* informed me that every reading act is unique occurrence of individual reader. That is, “every reading act is an event” (Rosenblatt, 1994, p. 1063). Rosenblatt (1978) claim that reading involves a particular reader in a particular time in a particular context because reading serves as the “language of emotions” (Beach, 1990, p. 55). Thus, “no person can read/experience a literary text for another” (Karolides, 1997, p. 9). Since reading is a unique occurrence of an individual reader in a particular context, the active role of reader and text is especially important.

The active role of reader: creative participation. Many reader response theorists have emphasized the important role of reader and text in creating meaning (e.g. Iser, 1974, 1978; Langer, 1992, Rosenblatt, 1978). First, an active role of reader in the reading process is clearly

demonstrated by Iser's concept of "wandering viewpoint." According to Iser (1978), "the readers' conscious mind is activated by the textual stimulus" (p. 117), which is called "wandering viewpoint" (p. 117). As wandering viewpoint permits the reader to travel through the text, it inevitably provides the new perspective. Iser (1974) calls the product of this process as "the virtual dimension of the text" (p. 279), which is not the text itself but "a coming together of text and imagination" (p. 279). This "creative participation" (p. 283) fills in unwritten parts of the text, and these open portions give readers the chance to picture things through readers' imagination.

Fish's (1980) views on reader are also similar to those claimed by Iser. However, unlike Iser, Fish's reader does not fill the gaps left by the text. Rather, Fish sees readers as "the source of all possible significations" (Tompkins, 1980, p. xvii). That is, readers have a critical role during a reading process as readers' cognitive activity is at the center of the reading. Culler's (1980) concept of "literary competence" of readers also emphasizes the active participation of the reader during a reading process by highlighting the implicit knowledge that readers bring to texts. Langer's (1992) notion of "envisionment" also supports the active role of reader. In her several works, Langer claims that readers bring different envisionments as readers' consciousness are changed with different information. In this sense, readers are in charge of "meaning development" (p. 39).

Although the theorists above adopted different terms such as "literary competence" and "envisionment" of readers, they all emphasize the active role of readers by pointing out "*the uniqueness of the individual reader and the integrity of the individual reading*" (Probst, 1994, p. 38, Emphasis in original). These views informed this study that each reader needs to be actively

involved in creating meaning during a reading process. However, the emphasis on the active role of reader does not devalue the active role of text.

The role of text: “indeterminacy.” Rosenblatt (1978) puts emphasis on the role of text by arguing that “text designates a set of series of signs interpretable as linguistic symbols” (p. 12). Since a text becomes *alive* as readers bring to the text significant background knowledge, the text is a necessary partner of the reader as “a mechanism of control or constraint, providing guidance for the reader” (Karolides, 1997, p. 18).

In addition, Iser (1974) argues that, in understanding the role of reader in a reading process, it is important to note that reader’s imagination is possible only through “the elements of indeterminacy,” which is “the gap in the text” (p. 283). He claims that the gap in the text is crucial to trigger readers’ imagination because the gap in the text can open up the possibility for readers to enjoy their imagination. When each individual reader fills in gaps, a text forms “the basis for the many selections which have to be made during the reading process” (Iser, 1978, p. 118). In this process, the text works as instructions which should be completed by the reader, and this “indeterminacy” urges readers’ participation throughout the process of reading. In this sense, texts open up the possibility for readers to enjoy “several different realization” (Iser, 1974, p. 280).

Although the theorists above show varying perspectives, the basic assumption shared by them is that reading is the active and complex process, involving active reader and text. This view helped me to gain insights into the role of reader and text during a reading process. Readers should take active roles to make sense of text by making unique contribution to each reading, using their experiences, prior knowledge, and imagination. Texts also play important

roles in a reading process since it is an equally important component of the transaction as “an arena in which reader and author participate in a game of the imagination” (Iser, 1974, p. 275).

However, the view of reading as an active transaction between reader and text does not mean that reading is a personal and solitary activity since readers’ responses are constructed within different social and cultural surroundings (e.g. Bleich, 1978; Beach, 1993; Fish, 1980). The following section discusses how readers’ responses are shaped within a social and cultural frame.

Reader response as a social and cultural act. With the emphasis on the active role of reader and text during a reading event, many people often misunderstand reading as a personal act. However, reading is also a social and cultural act because readers’ social roles and interaction in a particular context constitute readers’ responses to literary texts (e.g. Bleich, 1978, 1992; Culler, 1997; Beach, 1993; Fish, 1980). Since reading involves the “interdependence” of the individual and the community, readers’ responses are constructed within a specific social context (Berthoff, 1999; Mills, Stephens, O’keefe & Waugh, 2004; Pradl, 1996, 1999).

Reading as a social act. Many reader response theorists argue that readers’ social roles can influence their response to literature (Barr, 1990; Dixon, 1990; Pradl, 1996; Probst, 1990). The effects of social contexts on responses are particularly evident in Beach, Bleich and Fish’s arguments. First, Bleich (1978) claims that knowledge of language and literature is constructed within interpretive communities. By adopting the term *subject paradigm*, he argues that, when readers respond to literary texts, they are collectively negotiating meanings, creating tension between their private experience and shared experience. Within this tension, readers continuously make negotiation, and it often leads to a change in their perceptions. Since

meaning is produced through negotiation among members of interpretative communities, readers' responses are "the product of a collective decision" (Tompkins, 1980, p. xxi).

This idea is also connected with Fish's notion of reading in *interpretive communities*. According to Fish (1980), readers play so-called "the literary game" (p. 343) in the literary community during a reading process. That is, the meaning of transaction is produced in specific social contexts as readers share certain conventions as members of interpretive communities. As readers' interpretation involves "interpretive strategies" (p. 347) in a specific interpretative community, readers' responses can vary according to their social roles and their membership.

Beach (1993) also argues that readers' responses are created within the belief systems and activities in a particular interpretive community. That is, "responding is a learned social process" (p. 104) since readers' responses are shaped by their social roles, conventions, and discourses in their social community (Beach, 1990, 1993). In this sense, "texts, readers, and contexts are each inseparable from the other" (Beach, 1990, p. 66).

The notion of reading as a social practice is also shared by Probst's (1990) view that readers' responses are constructed based on the interplay of readers, texts, and contexts. Since students' responses to literature are constructed through readers' social interaction during a reading activity, readers learn to widen their views by comparing their responses to those of others. Based on these notions, I adopt the view that readers' interpretations can change based on the context. Since the social context of reader influences readers' meaning making process, "context is what determines meaning" (Culler, 1997, p. 90).

Reading as a cultural act. The social aspects of reading explain that reading is also a cultural practice. The view of reading as a cultural act has been supported by many reader response theorists (e.g. Beach, 1990, 1995, 1997; Beach & Freedman, 1992; Bleich, 1978).

These theorists argue that readers' responses are "shaped" in larger cultural contexts since readers adopt certain roles involving certain ideologies or discourses within their cultural frames. This view is clearly demonstrated by Beach's notion that readers' values shape their responses according to "their cultural codes, attitudes and assumptions that constituting their experiences" (Beach & Freedman, 1992, p. 162).

According to Beach (1995), readers often experience a tension between their own cultural models and the portrayal of cultures in literature. When readers meet this tension, they often impose their own cultural models onto texts, rejecting alternative cultural models portrayed in literature. Also, when they do not understand the cultural models portrayed in literature, readers often respond negatively to literary texts. Beach indicates that this resistance shows that readers' responses inevitably reflect their beliefs and attitudes constructed within their cultural codes. In this sense, the act of responding is as a cultural process, which is affected by different ideological orientation or different cultural models.

Beach (1995, 1997) also argues that, because readers' responses are constituted by varying ideological orientations, responses should be understood in relation to their "subject positions." For instance, readers' stances are affected by their social roles in their communities (e.g. students from middle-class backgrounds may respond differently from students from working-class group, reflecting their stance of privilege). This notion is also supported by Bleich's idea that readers' membership in their cultural communities is reflected in their responses to literature. Bleich (1978) asserts that the meaning of certain texts is constructed within a particular cultural frame because readers' responses reflect their negotiated membership in their cultural and ethnic groups. Since readers' stances are constituted by social, rhetorical,

and cultural conventions, responding to a text entails “life- transforming functions” (Beach, 1997, p. 83).

All together, these theorists claim that readers’ responses vary considerably according to different factors such as readers’ family, gender, ethnic and cultural backgrounds. As readers adopt different social and cultural conventions in responding to literature, readers’ responses cannot be isolated from their social and cultural frames. Based on this argument, this study rejected the view that a reader’s aesthetic experience involves only personal interactions with text (e.g. Yenika-Agbaw, 1997). Rather, I accepted the view that “meaning is context bound” (Culler, 1997, p. 91). The emphasis on reading as a social and cultural act also provided me with an important guideline to understand the democratic function of teaching literature instruction.

Reader response as a democratic inquiry. According to Newell and Durst (1993), a traditional literature instruction required objective analysis. In this traditional model, teachers’ selection of literary texts was often based on “facts” and “information” that “must be taught in schools” (p. 3). As reading was considered as fixed and stable investigation, the role of teacher was also considered to teach “the skills of close, concise, attentive analysis” (Beach, 1993, p. 16) or “passing on that one correct meaning- insisting upon it” (Trousdale & Harris, 1993, p. 195). Students’ job was also to figure out what interpretation the teacher wanted in order to get a good grade on the text. In this traditional, text-centered circumstance, students’ creative participation and their authentic engagement with a literary text were impeded.

However, a reader-centered approach emphasizes that literature instruction should not follow the text-centered models that consider teacher/text as the center of knowledge by highlighting the active role of reader and text (e.g. Beach, 1990; Newell & Durst, 1993; Langer, 1993; Rosenblatt, 1978, 1983). Also, by rejecting the view on reading as a personal act, a reader

response approach encourages dialogue as a function of the quality of life (e.g. Barr, 1990; Dixon, 1990; Galda & Beach, 2001; Pradl, 1999; Probst, 1990). It also promotes readers' critical and creative thought and their active participation "in a democratic enterprise of negotiating meaning" (Pradl, 1996, p. ix). With the democratic function of reader response theory, many critics claim that a reader response approach broadens the scope of literature study and contributes to promote a democratic idea (Berthoff, 1999; Mills, Stephens, O'keefe & Waugh, 2004; Pradl, 1996; Probst, 1990).

However, despite its significant theoretical guidance, current theories about reader responses are not originally intended for young children. Thus, in order to gain insights on children's responses to literature, it is also important to be aware of reader response theory, which specially focuses on young children's responses to literature. Thus, the following subsection focuses on young children's responses based on Sipe's theory of reading.

Reader responses in young children's context. While most reader response theories do not specially focuses on young children's responses to literature, Sipe encompasses "the visual aesthetic theory" of young children's literary understanding (Sipe, 2008, p. 8). According to Sipe (2008), the literary understanding of young children can be categorized by five aspects: *analytical, intertextual, personal, transparent, and performative*. First, the analytical response, which is the largest category, deals with the text as an opportunity to construct narrative meaning. In this category, children's responses are related to an analytical meaning such as the structure of the text and the illustrations. Analytical responses include several subcategories: (1) responses about the author and the illustrator including the publishing information, (2) responses related to the specific language in a story, and (3) an analytic approach to the illustration and style.

Secondly, children make intertextual responses, and in this category, children shift their focus to relationship with other texts. Sipe (2008) indicates that the children make intertextual responses by relating the text to other books or the work of other artists and videos. These connections include different levels such as “associative links, analytical links, and synthesizing links” (p. 131): while analytical responses are responses on the structure or the illustrations of the text, analytical links are to make intertextual association.

As for personal responses, Sipe (2008) adopts the term “life-to-text” and “text-to life” (p. 152) to illustrate how children connect their lives to texts and how they use texts to understand their lives. First, through “life-to-text” connection, children utilize their experiences to understand the text. In this process, they have a pleasure in perceiving the ways in which the story mirrors their own lives. Second, children use “text- to- life” connection in order to understand something in their lives. In making personal responses, children may also express their disapproval of stories (Sipe & McGuire, 2006).

In terms of children’s “distancing from the story” (Sipe, 2008, p. 166), Sipe adopts three conceptual categories. First, *preferential resistance* refers to children’s resistance to some stories after cursory examination of books (e.g. children judge a book by its cover and reject a book). The second type of resistance, which is *engaged resistance*, adopted by Moller and Allen’s (2000) concept, is caused by a significant emotional effect (Sipe & McGuire, 2006). The third type of resistance is *exclusionary resistance*, and this type of resistance is related to “representation” issue such as who is represented in stories, and how they are represented. Sipe indicates that this resistance can be caused when children try to identify them with story characters with “wish to be like them in some way” (Sipe, 2008, p 167).

While personal response indicates that children make meaningful connections between their lives and literary texts, the transparent responses indicate that children *enter* the narrative world of the story. In this category, the world of the text is identical with children's world as children enter the "secondary world of the story as they surrender to the power of the text" (Sipe, 2008, p. 169). Sipe argues that, since transparent responses usually occur during dramatic moments of the story, responses in this category are "aesthetically receptive" (p. 174), which is parallel to Rosenblatt's aesthetic reading.

As the last category, performative responses are similar to the transparent category but they are at an even higher level than transparent responses. Sipe (2008) claims that, in this category, children use text as "the platform" for the children's own creativity. That is, performative response is about readers entering the world of the text in order to manipulate it toward their own purpose. Since children are playfully manipulating the story in this category, these responses are usually out of control. Sipe argues that, with these "anarchic" (p. 174) characteristics, performative responses are often considered "off-task" (p. 174). However, they are still meaningful by being "aesthetically expressive" (p. 174).

In short, from Sipe's perspective, children (1) "*analyze* the text as a self-contained unit," (2) "*link or relate* several texts to each other," (3) "*personalize* texts to understand some personal issue," (4) "*merge* with the text," (5) "*perform* on texts, using texts as catalysts for their own flights" (p. 185-86). This provided me an important guideline to understand young children's active roles during a reading process. This also informed me that reading literature for children does not simply mean to interpret the story. Instead, they read the story "as a form of experience to assist in understanding or dealing with life" (p. 161).

Although Sipe provided me with an important theoretical insight to understand young children's responses to books, his theory of reader response fails to explain how young children's literary responses and their literary understandings can be developed within their social contexts. Thus, in order to broaden my understanding on *developmental aspects* of young bilingual children's responses in social and cultural contexts, the next section explores a sociocultural theory.

A Sociocultural View on Young Children's Reading

As a sociocultural approach has been widely adopted to a variety of young children's learning contexts, a growing number of studies have investigated young children's responses to literature in connection with a sociocultural approach (e.g. Brock & Gavelek, 1998; Cox, 1997; Moller, 2002, 2004; Moller & Allen, 2000; Sipe & Daley, 2005). For example, Corcoran (1992) connects Bakhtin's (1981) notion of dialogism to reading by asserting "readers are given the dialogic possibility" (p. 66) as they recognize multiple voices (p. 66). Also, by adopting Bakhtin's dialectic view, Beach (1993) explains that, during a reading act, meaning of utterance is constructed within an internal and external social context.

Although a sociocultural theory does not specifically focus on bilingual children, a sociocultural perspective of learning provided this study with an important base to understand the nature of learning, and how social interactions with community members facilitate bilingual children's literary responses, and their critical awareness about social issues. This section discusses (1) sociocultural views on learning, (2) the role of literary talks, and (3) the role of race-related talks.

Sociocultural views on learning. In order to understand how the participating children developed their emergent notions about social justice issues, we first should acknowledge the nature of learning/development. Many sociocultural theorists believe that children's learning occurs not by "an ideal innately-derived sort of power" (Hymes, 2001, p. 55) but by being exposed to it through the routines of their everyday lives (e.g. Dyson, 1989; Hymes, 2001; Vygotsky, 1978). As children learn through social and cultural activities with their community members, children's learning cannot occur without actively participating in social and cultural practices (Dyson, 1989, 1993; Hymes, 2001; Miller & Goodnow, 1995; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2001; Vygotsky, 1978).

As a core concept of a sociocultural notion of learning, Vygotsky's notion of *Zone of Proximal Development* (ZPD) provides important insights to understand the nature of "development" in young children's reading context. From Vygotsky's (1978) point of view, the term "development" is not equivalent to "learning" since, for him, the term "learning" fails to explain a new stage of the developmental process. Thus, Vygotsky adopts the concept of the ZPD to explain the dynamic developmental state.

According to Vygotsky (1978), there are at least two developmental levels in the developmental process to learning: the actual development level and the level of potential development. First, the actual developmental level is "the level of development of a child's mental functions that has been established as a result of certain already completed developmental cycles" (p. 85). However, for Vygotsky, this level does not explain what children can do with the assistance of others. Thus, he creates the new term ZPD to elaborate the level of potential development "as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (p. 86). While the actual development level is related to solve the

problem independently, the ZPD is determined “*through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers*” (p. 86, emphasis in original). That is, if the actual developmental level is considered as “mental development retrospectively,” the ZPD can be characterized as “mental development prospectively” (p. 87). By differentiating these two terms, Vygotsky claims that children do not learn naturally on their own, but with more knowledgeable others.

Vygotsky’s notion of ZPD is also supported by Rogoff’s view of learning as an “apprenticeship.” Drawing heavily on the theory of Vygotsky, Rogoff (1990) claims that children’s language and literacy development is an apprenticeship because it occurs through “guided participation in social activity with companions who support and stretch children’s understanding of and skill in using the tools of culture” (p. vii). In Rogoff’s view, social “companions” can be both adults and skilled peers (equal in skills or even one less advanced) because skilled peers can serve a function like that of adults in interaction in academic activities in the classroom. Since children’s development is affected through sociocultural activities of their communities, social activity works not as “a template for individual participation but as a stepping stone, guiding the path” (p. 197).

Based on this theoretical notion, I approached development as not “*product*” but “*process*” (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 64, emphasis in original). That is, this study sees the nature of development not as “a slow accumulation of unitary changes” (John-Steiner & Soubberman, 1978, p. 121) but as “a complicated dialectal process” (p. 122).

Necessary condition for development. Many researchers and theorists who hold a sociocultural view emphasize the active participation as a necessary condition for development to occur (e.g. Clay, 1998; Dyson, 1989, 1993; Hymes, 1972; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2001). The

importance of social interaction in learning is clearly demonstrated by Vygotsky. According to Vygotsky (1978), mental functions begin first on a social plane, which occurs “*between people*” (*interpsychological*) (p. 57, emphasis in original), and then, this shared process moves to an inner plane, which takes place “*inside the child*” (*intrapsychological*) (p. 57, emphasis in original). From Vygotsky’s point of view, these two levels are not separable because “*an interpersonal process is transformed into an intrapersonal one*” as a result of “*a long series of developmental events*” (p. 57, emphasis in original). This indicates that, for Vygotsky, children’s learning always occur within their social contexts. Vygotsky’s notion provided me with a significant theoretical lens to understand why social interactions with community members are crucial for young children’s learning to occur. Since children cannot learn without interacting with their social members, in order for learning to occur, children need to participate in everyday sociocultural activities.

The role of social interactions is also supported by Bakhtin’s argument. According to Bakhtin (1981), meaning is created between a speaker and others because language lies “on the borderline between oneself and the other” (p. 278). Although each separate utterance is individual, “each sphere in which language is used develops its own stable types of these utterances” (p. 60), which are called “speech genres.” From Bakhtin’s point of view, the entire utterance is constructed as both an author and an addressee actively participate in the chain of speech communication. Bakhtin’s notion of active participation of both author and addressee indicates that learning cannot occur without active participation of individuals.

Bakhtin’s emphasis on active participation is also emphasized by his notion of “unitary Being.” According to Bakhtin (1993), the world is arranged around “a concrete value-center” (p. 61), and this world is “a unitary and unique world” (p. 56) that is experienced concretely. This

“unitary uniqueness” of the world can be achieved by “my unique participation in that world” (p. 57). Since the unique world is given to us as “an answerable, emotional-volitional, concrete center of the concrete manifoldness of the world” (p. 57), for Bakhtin (1981), “a passive understanding of linguistic meaning is no understanding at all” (p. 273).

Although Bakhtin’s primary concern is not young children, his views informed me that learning/development always requires another person. Thus, active participation in a variety of sociocultural activities is crucial for young children’s learning. Bakhtin’s notion of unitary uniqueness also allowed me to see the core of children’s learning/development is *the active participation*.

This section described the theoretical base on the nature of learning. Based on this theoretical knowledge, the following sub-section discusses how talks about literature can create supportive literature environments in a young children’s context.

The role of discussion about literature. As discussed earlier, in order for learning to occur, children should participate in diverse social and cultural practices and interact with their community members through talk as a medium. When I apply this sociocultural notion to literature classrooms, children’s active negotiation of their literary responses with community members can provide children with an opportunity to develop their literary understandings and explore “divergent voices” (Beach, 1993, p. 112). Children’s talks about literature can create classrooms where children develop their responses from “monologic” to “dialogic” (p. 112). This section explores what studies have been conducted about the role of literary talks in a monolingual and a bilingual context.

Literary talks in a monolingual context. A wealth of research highlights the importance of sharing children’s responses and views for their literacy development in school-aged,

classroom contexts (e.g. Brown, Collins & Duguid, 1989; Dean & Small, 1997; Heller, 2006; Hibert & Fisher, 1991; Lewis, 1997; McMahon & Raphael, 1997; Moller, 2002, 2004; Rogers & O'Neill, 1993). In these studies, the authors argue that sharing students' ideas about literature through talk can provide young children with opportunities to avoid simplistic perspectives and develop their literate understandings. Although children's talk about literature does not always work well (Lewis, 1997), children's discussion about what they read provides opportunities for children to "learn from others, to learn with others, and to teach others" (Moller, 2004, p. 456).

In terms of the benefit of literary talks, many researchers argue that literary talks can open up the possibility to enrich children's literary understandings and literary thinking (e.g. McMahon & Raphael, 1997; Moller, 2004). For example, Goatley (1997) argues that, through literary talks, students can better understand the meaning of text as they actively contribute to their learning process. Also, McMahon and Raphael (1997) points out that, by socially interacting with their peers and teachers, students can clarify their confusions about literary texts. Moller (2004) also supports this notion by claiming that literature discussions with teachers and peers work as a facilitator of children's literary understanding. Taken together, these studies indicate that, in order to help young children to develop their literary understandings and literate thinking, teachers should encourage students to share their perspectives through discussions about what they read.

Secondly, children's conversations about literature help children to develop critical perspectives on the world around them (Atwell, 2007; Long & Gove, 2003; Martinez-Roldan, 2005; McMahon & Raphael, 1997). McMahon and Raphael (1997) argue that it is important to create environments in which students can engage in meaningful conversations about the books

because students can develop their critical thinking skills while exchanging their ideas. Meacham's (2003) study also claims that sharing children's literary responses in a culturally diverse group is crucial to encourage children's critical awareness toward cultural biases. In addition, Atwell's (2007) study argues that sharing ideas helps children to be a more passionate and critical readers by providing young readers with chances to understand different perspectives.

This body of literature helped me to understand that (1) the literary meaning is constituted by children's active social interactions with their peers and teachers, and (2) children "learn to read and to understand literature best" with the support of others (Newell & Durst, 1993, p. 13).

Race-related literary talks. In terms of studies focusing on race-related issues in an elementary-aged, and monolingual context, some studies examined how literary talks about race can help young children to develop their critical awareness toward race (Copenhaver-Johnson, Bowman & Johnson, 2007; Copenhaver, 2000; MacPhee, 1997; Moller & Allen, 2000; Reissman, 1994). For example, MacPhee (1997) examined 31, first-grade children's reading historical nonfiction books that featured African Americans as the central characters in a European American context. In this study, the author found out that, as children shared their ideas about race, they could develop critical attitudes on social issues. Finding suggests that teachers should provide young children with a chance to talks about social justice by using race-themed books.

The importance of creating space for discussions about social justice is also highlighted by Allen's (1997) study, which investigated how 2nd graders responded to the sense of fairness and anti-racist issues. This study found out that children could understand biased illustrations of classroom materials as they had discussions about the concept of *beauty* and *goodness* in picture

books. Based on this finding, the author suggests that it is important to encourage young children to voice their different perspectives through literary talks about social issues.

In addition, Copenhaver (2000) examined how 3rd grade African American children responded to literature with race themes in the racially diverse context. The author suggests that talks about literature dealing with race themes can create “supportive, harmonious cross-cultural communities” (p. 14). Thus, teachers should encourage children to have discussions about social issues by adopting culturally and ethnically conscious literature in order to help children to critically read books and learn about real-life problem.

More recently, Copenhaver-Johnson (2006) investigated primary graders responses to books with race themes and their discussions about race in a suburban classroom. In this study, the author claims that sharing responses to race-themed books is crucial to foster their critical awareness about race because it helps young children to avoid stereotypical interpretations of the ethnic/cultural differences. Since literary conversations about race and other social issues facilitate children’s early understandings about “the contemporary racism that they *already* had experience” (p. 18, emphasis in original), it is important to have literary conversations about race and racism in a young children’s classroom.

Lastly, Copenhaver-Johnson, Bowman, and Johnson’s (2007) study also supports this notion. By examining how young children perceive race and diversity during the read-alouds in two, first-grader’s classrooms, the authors found out that some white and black children have a prejudiced idea about Black Santa. However, as they have discussions about “the realness of Santa” (p. 241), children could develop the sense of diversity. With this finding, the authors suggest that it is important to create spaces for race-oriented talk by employing children’s literature that challenges normative race assumptions.

All together, these studies informed me that it is crucial to help young children's early understandings about social issues through talks about literature dealing with social themes. By sharing their responses and ideas about literature with race and other diversity themes, young children can have a chance to explore their different ideas and, in this process, they can avoid simple perspectives. Also, they can question and challenge to the social norms while sharing responses to literature dealing with real-life problems with other peers or with a teacher.

However, although these research studies have acknowledged the educational possibilities associated with discussions about racial issues with young children, all of these studies were conducted in a school-aged children's context. No study with this topic has been conducted in a preschool context. The next sub-section reviews the studies that investigated the role of social interactions in reading literature in a preschool context.

A preschool, monolingual context. Although no study has investigated literary discussions about race in preschool contexts, some studies have conducted about the role of social interactions to foster preschool children's reading proficiency (e.g. Pelligrini, Perlmutter, Galda & Brody, 1990; Roser & Martinez, 1985). As for studies focusing on mother-child interactions, Ninio (1980) examined how mother-infant interactions during picture-book reading helped infants' vocabulary acquisition. A mother-child interaction is also investigated by Pelligrini, Perlmutter, Galda and Brody's (1990) study that examined how black mothers' teaching strategies affect preschool children's reading proficiency in a mother-child book program. Although these studies provided significant insights into the importance of social interactions with community members for preschool children's reading skills, these studies focused on reading proficiency and vocabulary acquisition, rather than their literary discussions about race.

In regards to studies that focused more on children's responses to literature in a preschool context, some studies investigated what influences preschool children's responses to literary books such as textual factors (Martinez & Teale, 1988; Pappas & Brown, 1989), and amount of exposure to a piece of text (Sulzby, 1985). Other researchers paid attention to the issues such as (1) what caused preschool children's preference of certain texts (Robinson, Larsen, Haupt & Mohlman, 1997) and how preschoolers respond to realistic fictions (Lehr, 1988). These studies helped me to understand what affects preschoolers' preferences for literary books and their responses to literary texts. However, since these studies' primary interest was not children's social interactions, they could not provide in-depth understandings about the role of social interactions with community members in children's reading contexts.

As seen above, the benefits of literary talks have been investigated in many different monolingual contexts. However, the issue of social justice has never been explored in preschool monolingual context. The following sub-section continues on reviewing what studies have been conducted about the role of literary talks in bilingual contexts.

A bilingual, school-aged context. In terms of studies that investigated the role of literary talks in bilingual' reading contexts, some studies have been conducted (e.g. Brock, 1997; Goatley, Brock & Raphael, 1995; Moll & Gonzalez, 1994). For example, some researchers examined the role of parent-child interactions for school-aged children, focusing on how cooperative reading with parents serves as a way to encourage English Language Learners' (ELLs) cultural awareness in a bi-literacy context (e.g. D áz- Rico & Weed, 2005; Rodríguez-Valls, 2011).

In terms of studies related to the role of teacher-child or peer- peer interactions in elementary classroom contexts, some studies investigated the role of literary talks such as (1)

how interactions with peers and teachers in literature classrooms served as a chance for Spanish bilinguals to share knowledge on home literacy (Martinez-Roldán & López-Robertson, 1999), (2) how literature discussion provided Spanish bilinguals with opportunities to collaborate across languages (DeNicolò, 2010), and (3) how peer interactions using two languages in literature classrooms helped bilingual children to take risks in learning English (Peralta-Nash & Dutch, 2000).

In addition, several studies investigated bilingual children's meaning construction process using two languages such as (1) how Spanish bilingual children adopted two different languages within their social and cultural contexts in order to comprehend literary texts (Martinez-Roldán & Sayer, 2006), and (2) how bilingual children interpreted books by adopting different reading strategies (Langer, Bartolomé, Vasquez & Lucas, 1990). These studies suggest that, in order to help bilingual children's reading proficiency, it is important for teachers to provide bilingual children with a chance to engage in meaningful discussions with peers and teachers about literature, using two languages.

The findings of these studies informed me that literary talks with community members promote young bilingual children's reading skills by helping their biliteracy competence. However, although they investigated the role of social interactions in reading contexts, their main concerns were how to improve reading skills in bilingual contexts.

As for studies that specifically focused on readers' responses in a bilingual context, a few studies exist. For example, in Korean bilingual contexts, Kim's (2010) dissertation study investigated six Korean/Korean American adolescents' responses to young adult books. In Taiwanese context, Park (2007) examined Taiwanese English language learners' (11th graders) responses to realistic American short essays. The findings of these studies helped me to

understand how bilingual students' cultural backgrounds influence their responses to books, but they were conducted in adolescent contexts.

In younger bilingual children's context, Son's (2009) dissertation study explored how Korean bilingual children (two 2nd graders, two 4th graders, and two 6th graders) responded to picture books that portray Korean people and culture. In a Chinese context, Liaw (1995) conducted a study that examined Chinese bilingual children's (six to ten years old) responses to three Chinese children's literature. These studies suggest that young bilingual children's literary responses reflect their own cultural values and perspectives. Together, the findings assisted me to understand that children's responses are influenced by their sociocultural activities, but all of these were conducted in school-aged children's contexts. Also, the main interest of these studies was not racial issues.

As for studies focusing on race and social justice issues in a bilingual context, only one study exists. Martínez-Roldán (2000) investigated 2nd grade, Spanish, bilingual students' responses to multicultural literature dealing with the issue of discrimination. The findings suggest that small group literature discussions about books with difficult social issues provide young bilingual children with valuable chances to think critical issues such as race and discrimination. However, this study was conducted in a school-aged, Spanish bilingual context.

A preschool, bilingual context. In term of studies focusing on reading of literature in a preschool bilingual context, only two studies exist. First, Bauer (2000) investigated a preschool bilingual child's code-switching (English and German) during reading literature. Although this study helped me to understand that young bilinguals show different code-switching patterns based on child's goal, this study focused on code-switching patterns. Bauer's (2003) study that examined how a preschool bilingual child responded differently to different narrative books

informed me of a preschool bilingual child's interactions with books. However, since social interactions were not a primary concern in this study, it provided limited knowledge on how a participating child developed her literary thinking and literary responses by socially interacting with her family members.

As discussed above, a volume of literature has emphasized the role of talks in both monolingual and bilingual contexts. While some studies investigated race-related literary talks in school-aged, monolingual contexts, only one study paid attention to this issue in a bilingual context. Also, literary talks regarding racial issues have never been explored in preschool monolingual/bilingual children's context. This indicates that there is a startling paucity of knowledge on preschool and bilingual children's literary discussions about race. In order to investigate this intersection, this study explored three research questions in this study: (1) How do the preschool Korean bilingual children respond to social justice literature? (2) What are the roles of the children's "creative participation" in reading social justice literature? (3) How do literary talks help the children to develop their emergent notions of racial diversity and social justice? The review and synthesis in this chapter will provide the background information for answering these questions. By examining these three research questions, I aim to provide new perspectives about teaching and learning literature in young bilingual classrooms.

Summary

This section reviewed and synthesized related studies about (1) multicultural education or other studies concerning diversity, equity, and social justice, (2) reader response theories, and (3) a sociocultural theory. The first section investigated the role of literature dealing with racial, ethnic and cultural diversities as a tool to foster students' critical awareness on cultural, racial

and ethnic differences, and to develop positive attitudes toward these differences. The second section discussed a reader response theory as a medium to promote a democratic idea in teaching and learning literature. The third section explored a sociocultural theory, focusing on how literary talks with community members help to create supportive literature environments for both monolingual and bilingual children. The review of literature also informed me that, although a wealth of research about reader response criticism, a sociocultural theory, and multicultural education has been conducted by many scholars and educators for the last few decades, no attention has been paid to the role of literary talks about race and social justice in both monolingual and bilingual preschool contexts.

Chapter 3

Methods

Rationale for a Case Study

My purpose in completing this study was to suggest alternative visions for teaching literature, rather than to generalize my findings or to establish cause-effect relationships. To this end, I adopted a context-specific qualitative study approach. One of the epistemological assumptions of qualitative study is that certain phenomenon may look and sound different in different social and cultural circumstances (Dyson & Genishi, 2005; Stake, 2006). According to Dyson and Genishi (2005), in interpretative tradition, researchers investigate the diverse ways in which different types of events are organized in a particular setting. Because qualitative researchers believe that each participant has unique stories to tell, they look for the detail of interaction with its specific context, focusing on particular participants.

Stake (1995) argues that one of the major differences between qualitative and quantitative research is that, while a quantitative researcher focuses on cause and effect, a qualitative researcher is interested in the understanding of behaviors in a natural setting through building a complex and holistic picture. A qualitative study emphasizes “narratives” and “episodes” to help readers to gain understandings of the case whereas quantitative research focuses on “scientific” findings. In other words, a qualitative approach attempts to capture voices and meanings through narrations, rather than statistical procedures or other means of quantification. Stake compares different goals and concerns between quantitative and qualitative researchers as follows:

Quantitative researchers regularly treat uniqueness of cases as “error,” outside the system of explained science. Qualitative researchers treat the uniqueness of individual cases and

contexts as important to understanding. Particularization is an important aim, coming to know the particularity of the case. (p. 39)

With different goals, each approach has different research questions: while the research questions in qualitative studies focus on “pursuit of complex meaning” (p. 43), those of quantitative studies seek out a relationship between variables. Because qualitative researchers are interested in understanding particular participants’ unique experiences through “thick description” of episodes (p. 39), simple “yes” or “no” answer is less important to them.

As one of the qualitative approaches, a case study is an intensive investigation of an individual unit in relation to its context (Dyson & Genishi, 2005; Patton, 2002; Stake, 1995, 2006). Stake (1995) argues that, like other qualitative approaches, the goal of case study is not to measure an objective reality but to generate understanding by discovering multiple realities and portraying the multiple views of the case. Since a case study approach seeks to understand phenomena in context-specific settings (Golafshani, 2003; Rolfe, 2006), it helps to capture complexities of meaning and “the nature of experience” (Creswell, 1998; Kim, 2010). Also, with rich descriptions and narrations of the individual’s perspective, this approach helps to understand how the meaning is socially and culturally constructed through social practices (Denzin, 2001). In this sense, Stake (2006) defines a case study method as “naturalist, holistic, ethnographic, biographic, and phenomenological research methods” (p. xi).

This study employed a qualitative case study approach because my focus was not only on children’s reading literature but also on the context of that reading. In order to understand the complexity of the participants’ responses to the texts in dual language settings, I needed an in-depth investigation of each participant and their social and cultural contexts. While a quantified, fixed-category checklist was not enough to capture the complexity of children’s interactions in natural surroundings, a qualitative case study approach allowed me to merge into the children’s

culture, and have an in-depth understanding of it from the participants' frame. Moreover, an in-depth exploration over time assisted me in understanding the situated nature of their responses within the complex social and cultural contexts. A qualitative approach also helped me gain the participants' trust by forming long-term friendships with them in naturally occurring settings.

The Context

The setting for this study was the Korean Language School (KLS) in a Mid-western state. According to Wiley (2001), "although not widely recognized in the United States, a great deal of heritage language education takes place outside the formal school system, in afterschool and weekend programs" (p. 32). The Korean Heritage Language Schools (Korean HL Schools) are run by members of the local Korean communities that normally meet either on Saturdays or on Sundays. The Korean HL Schools are designed to teach Korean language and culture (You, 2009). Statistically, in 2005, there were 1,021 Korean HL Schools, 8,352 teachers, and 57,744 students in the US (Park, 2007). The goal of Korean HL Schools is to teach Korean language and culture to Korean immigrant children or first and second-generation Korean Americans. The Korean Language School (KLS) was one of 1,021 Korean HL Schools in the US. The next subsection provides a broad picture of the KLS.

The Korean Language School (KLS). The KLS was a self-governing language institution run by one of the seven Korean churches in that area. According to Mr. Choi (all names are pseudonym) who took on the role of the executive director, the school was established in 1974 by several Korean people who were highly interested in teaching Korean language to Korean bilingual children. In Spring 2012, there were a total of thirteen classes and eighty-five students. Ms. Choi indicated that the KLS was the fourth largest Korean HL Schools in the US.

Most classes were for young children, and were classified by a grade level, ranging from Pre-K through fourth grade. The classrooms at the KLS were located in the basement of the Korean church. The KLS also had a small library in the basement. The total number of students in each class ranged from five to twelve. If a class had more than nine students, there was usually a teacher aide.

Theoretically, classes at the KLS were open to anyone who wished to learn Korean language and culture, but most students were of Korean ethnicity. Among eighty-five students, sixty-one students were second- generation Koreans, born and brought up in the US, and twenty four students were Koreans who were born in Korea and moved to the US in their early age. The KLS was a fee-based school. Most of this generated income was used to support teachers' salaries and buy classroom materials such as crayons, scissors, and papers.

Executive Director. Mr. Choi was a Korean male in his late fifties. Teachers and parents in the KLS often referred to him as “a principal.” His main role in the KLS was hiring teachers and managing classrooms. He was born in Korea and received his bachelors' degree in social science in 1980. He immigrated to the US in May 1982 with all of his family members; Mr. Choi's brother-in-law invited his family to the US and he took that opportunity. Since then, he had worked at a post office as his main job for almost thirty years. Mr. Choi joined the KLS in 2001 after he was elected as the executive director by a board of senior church members. Mr. Choi explained that he decided to serve as a principal at the KLS to keep the promise made to his mother that he would be a teacher when he grew up.

According to Mr. Choi, when he became the principal at the KLS in 2001, the school was not systematic and the size of the school was also very small: there were approximately twenty-five students in the whole school with four or five teachers. Occasionally, a graduate student at a

nearby school worked as an executive director. Mr. Choi informed me that he usually recruited students by advertising the school through three Korean grocery stores and some Korean restaurants. Although there were still very limited numbers of students from other racial groups due to Mr. Choi's limited recruitment, as the news of the KLS spread by word of mouth, the number of students started to increase.

Teachers at the KLS. In Spring 2012, there were twenty-two teachers at the KLS: sixteen regular teachers (all females), and six classroom material developers (four females and two males). The teachers were recruited by Mr. Choi through the Korean community web-site. In terms of specific qualifications, Mr. Choi indicated that anyone who had any teaching experience in Korea or the US could work as a teacher or a classroom material developer at the KLS. Most teachers at the KLS were previous teachers who had work experiences in public or private schools in Korea. Although students in education-related majors in nearby schools could also work as teachers, only few people worked as teachers due to their busy schedules. All teachers were born and educated in Korean, and most of them moved to the US in the last ten years. The KLS teachers were paid depending on the length of their work experiences at the KLS, but some teachers worked as volunteers.

Classroom materials. In terms of curriculum materials, main classroom materials were Korean workbooks, which are developed by the KLS. The KLS previously imported class materials from a large bookstore in Korea. However, school personnel developed workbooks for use since 2008 after Mr. Choi hired six teachers who were entitled as "교재연구팀"[material developers] to reduce textbook import costs from Korea. Those teachers developed workbooks that focused on practicing Korean words and sentences with simple pictures. The following is the example of the workbook for kindergarteners.

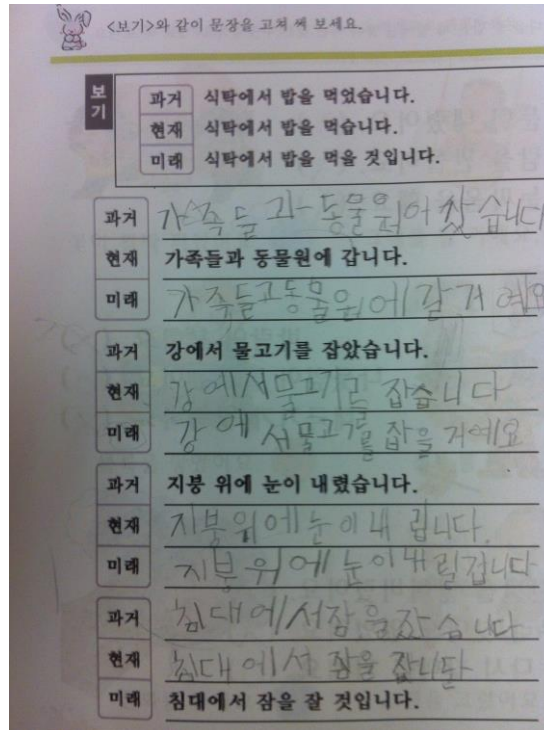


Figure 1. The example of a workbook at the KLS.

The teachers at the KLS were required to finish two to four workbooks (100 pages each) during a semester. Among thirteen classes at the KLS, the current study focused on Ms. Park's classroom (the rationale of selecting her classroom is explained in the "descriptions of the participants" section). The following sub-section provides a brief description of curriculum in Ms. Park's classroom.

Ms. Park's classroom. On the corner of the basement, there was Ms. Park's classroom, which was the small-size classroom with a white board in the middle, a large desk, and several chairs. Due to the small size of the classroom, there was no separated place for play. Books and toys such as blocks and dolls did not exist either.

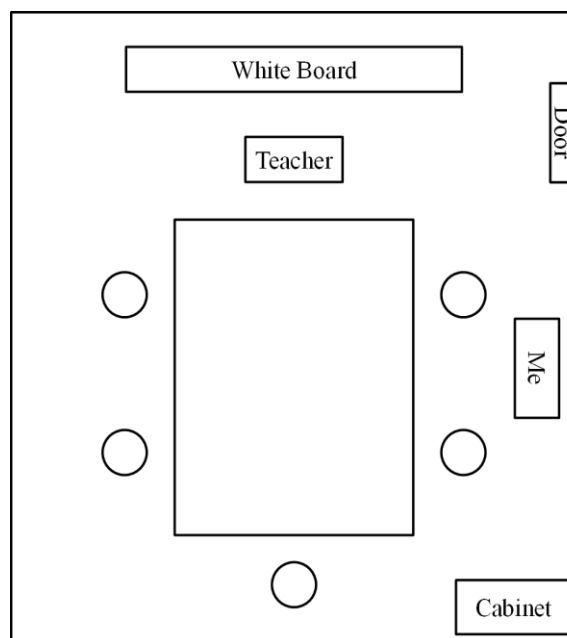


Figure 2. Floor plan for Ms. Park's classroom.

Ms. Park's classroom started at 10:30, and each class session lasted for three hours. The students could choose their own seats each week. There were a total of fourteen weeks in the Spring 2012 semester. However, because there was a Spring break in week seven, the semester consisted of thirteen weeks.

As a previous art instructor, Ms. Park assigned several art-related activities each week (e.g. making a pinwheel). However, Ms. Park frequently skipped these activities because the classroom curriculum highly focused on doing worksheets: there were two workbooks (approximately 100 pages each), so Ms. Park had to finish one chapter of the worksheet each week. There were also a midterm and a final exam in week 6 and 12 respectively.

In terms of a regular class schedule, the children started with a Korean vocabulary test, called “받아쓰기 [dictation],” for fifteen minutes. The test preparation material was provided to the children in the previous week so that they had some time to study it. The following shows an example of a test practice material.

❖ K3 반 8 주 받아쓰기 연습

1	아침 햇살이.
2	욕심쟁이 흑부리 영감.
3	방긋 방긋 웃습니다.
4	해가 떠오릅니다.
5	낙엽이 우수수 떨어집니다.
6	새싹이 파릇 파릇.
7	참새가 짹짹.
8	시원한 바람.
9	눈싸움을 합니다.
10	빨강게 익은 감.

Figure 3. The example of a vocabulary test practice sheet.

When the children took the vocabulary test, the teacher read the words or sentences, and the children wrote them down on a separate sheet. After the vocabulary test, there was a workbook session for fifty minutes, and the children had twenty-minute snack break. After that, there was Story Time (labeled in English) for twenty to thirty minutes. Then, there was another one-hour workbook session. The class activities each week were often shared with the parents through 가정통신문 [a school newsletter]. The following is an example of it.

< K3 반 12 주 학습 계획 >	
<p>안녕하세요?</p> <p>지난주에는 문장의 순서를 중점적으로 배웠습니다. 영어의 문장에 익숙한 아이들이라 문장의 순서를 조금 어려워하기도 하였지만 열심히 잘해 주었습니다. 오늘은 예정한대로 학기말 시험이 있을 계획입니다. 그동안에 모두들 적극적으로 잘해 주었기 때문에 시험도 무리 없이 잘하리라고 기대합니다. 그리고 지난주에 다 못한 과거, 현재, 미래의 시제를 더불어 공부할 예정입니다.</p> <p>다음주에는 9 장의 "접속사" 그러나, 그런데등에 관해서 공부 할 예정입니다. 그리고 지난주에 새 학기 등록 일정을 배부해 드렸는데 서둘러 다음학기를 등록하시길 바랍니다. 저희 한글 학교는 정원제를 실시하고 있으며, 이번 학기가 끝나기 전에 등록을 하시면 30 불의 할인 혜택도 더불어 받으실 수 있습니다.</p>	
시 간	학습 내용
10 : 20 ~ 10 : 30	인사 나누기
10 : 30 ~ 11: 20	교재 2 권 p108 ~ 121
11 : 20 ~ 11 : 40	간 식
11: 40 ~ 12: 00	동화책 읽기
12: 00 ~ 12 : 50	교재 2 권 p123 ~ 134
12 : 50 ~ 1: 10	종이 접기
1 : 10 ~ 1 : 20	귀가 지도
<p>☺ 이번주 숙제 : 숙제장 p111 ~ 121, 12 주 받아쓰기 연습.</p> <p>☺ 준비물 : 필통, 연필, 지우개, 크레용 또는색연필, 가위, 풀, 3 링 바인더, 교재, 책가방.</p> <p>☺ 언제든지 질문이나 궁금하신점이 있으면 연락 주시기 바랍니다.</p>	

Figure 4. An example of a school newsletter.

Among these activities, the present study focused on *Story Time*, which was a formal reading time which occurred formally from 11:40 am to 12:00 pm (or 12:10). It was called “Story Time” by the teacher but, in a school newsletter, she often indicated it as “동화읽기” [Reading storybooks]. The following sub-section explains the details of Story Time.

The Focal Literacy Activity: Story Time. Story Time usually started at 11:40 after 간식시간 [the snack time]. Before Story Time, the teacher often clapped her hands or sang a “wrap-up song” to gain the children’s attention. Although a few classrooms at the KLS had a formal reading time, the way it was managed depended on the teacher. Story Time in Ms. Park’s classroom usually focused on only reading while Story Time in other classrooms was often divided into reading and drawing sessions. However, Ms. Park also included a drawing session from time to time based on the class schedule.

When Story Time started, the teacher always asked the children to sit on the floor around her “Reading Chair” (labeled in English). During Story Time, Ms. Park read aloud literature to all children in a whole group, and discussed the story with her students using mostly Korean. When she read the books, Ms. Park allowed her students to talk to peers about their thoughts. She also tried to help her students to make connections with the text based on what they already know, instead of simply decoding the text. In addition, she tried to ask questions to her students before/during/after reading. For example, before reading, she often allowed her children to look at the cover of the book, and asked them what story clues are in the title and picture. During reading, Ms. Park encouraged her students to be actively involved in reading and sharing their responses by asking many thought-provoking questions such as why the character acts or feels in a certain way, how they feel about the main character, and what they would do if they were in the characters’ situation. After reading, she asked what the story was about, what they liked or disliked about the story, and how the story made them feel.

The children occasionally had an “after reading” activity, which was to create their own stories in a written format. For this activity, Ms. Park provided the children with a blank sheet of paper, colors crayons, and several colored pens, and the children created their own written texts about the book they had read. The topic of the day was usually provided by the teacher. Due to the demanding class schedule, the “after reading” activity was conducted only five times during my observation period (the detail is explained in the book selection section).

In summary, the setting of the current study was the KLS, which was the fourth largest Korean HL Schools in the US. In Spring 2012, there were eighty-five students, and their ethnicity was either Koreans or Korean Americans. All teachers at the KLS were Koreans, and most of them were previous teachers in Korea. This section demonstrated a brief description of

the context. The following section provides more detailed information including who the participants were, and why I selected them.

Descriptions of the Participants

The goal of this section is to provide some background information on each participant including (1) the teacher (e.g. age, language skill, educational/family background, the reason for moving to the US, why she joined this study), and participating children (e.g. age, gender, ethnicity, language, family background, personality, favorite things to do, experience to visit Korea). Because this section aims to provide general information about participants, the detailed information including each participating child's literature-related experiences, peer relationships, school demographics, and parents' racial attitudes will be explained in the finding section. The first sub-section starts with discussing who Mr. Park was, and why I selected her classroom.

The teacher, Ms. Park. In her mid-forties, Ms. Park was a former teacher who majored in art in Korea. Her first language was Korean, and she spoke English at a communicative level. Although she worked at the KLS on weekends, she focused on housework during normal weekdays. She had two sons, who were in the first and fourth grades at the time of this study. In terms of her educational background, Ms. Park received her bachelor's degree at one of the most prestigious art schools in Seoul. After that, she moved to the United Kingdom (UK), and finished her master's degree, specializing in ceramics. Then, she went back to Korea and taught older students in several famous art institutes in Seoul for more than ten years. After getting married, she moved to Canada on account of her husband's studies. Yet, she relocated to the US seven years ago as her husband found his occupation as a faculty member in the US. Since then, she has lived in the same state. Ms. Park joined the KLS in 2011, and since then, she had taught

the Korean language/culture to preschoolers. Although she had no experience in teaching young children in Korea, she decided to work at the KLS because, as a mother of two young Korean-English bilingual children, she started to be more interested in teaching young children the Korean language/culture.

I was able to have a chance to talk with Ms. Park about my project through Ms. Moon, who was my church friend and also one of the teachers at the KLS. In fact, Ms. Park's classroom was supposed to be taught by Ms. Lee who had ten years of teaching experiences in an elementary school in Korea. However, as Ms. Lee had to leave the KLS due to a personal problem, Ms. Park took over Ms. Lee's classroom. I knew of Ms. Park's existence as I frequently visited the KLS, but I had never had a chance to talk with her about my project. However, as Ms. Moon found that both Ms. Park and I had similar interests, she introduced Ms. Park to me. Ms. Park showed her great interest in my project, and talked with Mr. Choi about her wish to take over Ms. Lee's classroom.

In selecting Ms. Park's classroom, several factors were taken into account. One of the most important criteria for selecting Ms. Park's classroom was that Ms. Park was acknowledging the urgent need for multicultural education, particularly for Korean students. Ms. Park informed me that, among diverse social issues including gender, class, sexual orientation, and religion, she especially became interested in racial issues as she noticed many Korean people's negative racial attitudes toward people with dark skin, particularly African Americans and Southeast Asians.

The following excerpt demonstrates why Ms. Park became interested in racial issues in Korea:

아시다시피 한국은 단일민족국가잖아요 . 내 기억에는 다문화 라는 단어 자체가 10 년전만해도 없었던거 같은데.. 왜 우리가 어릴때만해도 학교에서 이렇게 같은 언어를 쓰고 그런것에 대해서 자랑스러워 해야된다고 배웠잖아요. 그 상황에서 피가 섞인다는자체가 항상 부정적이었던거 같아요. 근데 국제결혼이나 불법이민자들 증가하고 그러면서 사람들이 다문화에 대해서 더 부정적이 된거 같아요. 왜냐면 이제 우리 purity 가 없어진다고 생각하니까 [As you know, Korea is a

racially homogenous country. As far as I remember, the term “multiculturalism” was almost unheard of in Korea 10 years ago. As you know, when we were young, we learned at school that we should be proud of belonging to the same ethnic group and sharing the same language. I think that, in Korea, “mixing blood” has never been positive. However, it seems that, with the growing number of international marriages and illegal immigrants, (Korean) people started to be more negative to multiculturalism because they believe that it hurts our “purity.”]

Ms. Park indicated that, with the negative reaction of many Koreans to multiculturalism, multi-ethnicity, multicultural families in Korea, she had been interested in multicultural issue for the last few years. However, despite her interest in multiculturalism in Korea, she had never had an opportunity to read multicultural books to her sons because (1) she was unable to obtain literature that portrayed African American people/culture written in Korean, and (2) she did not want to read English books to her sons due to her worry about her English pronunciation.

In addition, I chose Ms. Park’s classroom because she read a variety of social justice literature throughout the semester. She emphasized that it is important to provide the consistent support for young bilingual children to be familiar with diverse cultures and people. She also indicated that social justice literature would be particularly important in a bilingual context as follows:

2 세 아이들에게 이런 책을 읽어주는게 의미가 있다고 생각해요. 지금은 어려서 잘 모른다고 하지만 자라면서 자기들의 외모나 피부색이 다르다는걸 곧 알게될테니까요. 이렇게 다양한 인종과 문화가 있다는걸 책을 통해서 어릴때 부터 알려줘서 “다름”에 대한 비판적 생각을 하도록 돕는게 중요한거 같아요. [I think that it is important to read social justice literature to bilingual children because, although they are young now, they will eventually notice that their appearances and skin colors are different from others. Thus, I think that it is important to help them to better understand people from other ethnic/cultural groups and to think critically about all the differences around them by using multicultural literature as a tool.]

However, despite her strong passion to teach multicultural issues to young bilingual children, it was her first attempt to read those books to her students at the KLS; although she had Story Time in her previous classes, she usually read her students general texts that did not deal

with social themes in previous semesters (e.g. Korean traditional books). She had never incorporated multicultural literature into her curricula because of (1) her demanding class schedule, (2) her lack of experience with teaching multicultural material, (3) the absence of multicultural literature written in Korean, and (4) her worries about students' resistance to such books. Yet, she decided to join this project because, although she had limited experience and knowledge in teaching multicultural literature in young children's classroom, she was passionate for experimenting with her belief in her classroom.

In addition, unlike other Korean teachers at the KLS, Ms. Park was interested in African American people/culture due to her positive experiences with an African American family in the UK. In an interview with Ms. Park, she indicated that, before she went to the UK to pursue her master's degree, she had relatively negative attitudes toward African Americans despite no direct experience with them. However, while staying in the UK, she lived with an African American family, and her positive experience with an African American family provided her with a chance to open her minds toward African American people/culture. The following excerpt demonstrates the details of her experience:

나는 흑인 가족이랑 같이 산적이 있었어요 내가 방하나 렌트해가지고. 제가 유학한데가 영국이었거든요. 근데 한국유학생들이 얘기하는데 그 동네는 가지 말아라 흑인 많이 살고.. 아무래도 그런 편견때문에 범죄가 그 동네에 많단 얘기들도 있었고. 대신 렌트비가 많이 싸긴했지만 사람들이 많이 안 가려고 했어요. 근데 그 때 일단 내가 가진 돈가지고 살아야되고 머 구지 그렇게 나뉘까 하는 생각을 했어요. (pause) 처음에 약간 이야기를 하고 믿을만 한거 같아서 렌트를 했어요. 그사람도 나를 보고 같이 살만해보인다 했으니까 렌트를 줬겠죠. 무조건 돈준다고 한집에 살기는 쉽지 않겠죠. 애도 있는집에. 싱글 맘이었는데 딸하나 엄마 이렇게 살았어요. 아들들이 있긴 했는데 가끔 visit 하는 정도였고. 문화적으로도 많이 다르고 영어도 못할때고 그래서 처음에는 힘들었는데 그당시는 배운다는 생각으로 잘 지냈어요. 서로 위로도 많이 하고.. 외국 생활로 외롭고 하니깐.. 한번은 되게 아팠었어요. 병원이 어디인지도 모르고 아무것도 모르는데 데려다 줬어요. 그것뿐만아니라 좋은 기억이 많아요. 그렇게 큰 냉장고도 아닌데 한칸 비워주고 너이거 써라. 왜 당시 한국 음식 냄새나는거 많잖아요. 김치나 머

그런거 근데 complain 안했어요. 내가 가지고 있는 문화적인것도 많이 존중해준거 같아요. 많이 못배우고 가난한 집 아줌마였지만.. 나중에 까지 contact 했어요. [I had the experience of living with a black family when I studied in the UK. At that time, I rented a small room in that house. Most of my friends said that it would not a good idea to rent a room in that area due to a high African American population. People often said that the crime rate in that area was pretty high. Probably because of that, Korean people did not want to live in that area in spite of the cheap rent fee compared to other areas. Yet, for me, I did not have many options because I had very limited money to live on. Also, I did not believe that that area was particularly bad. I rented the room because I trusted (the owner of the house) after a short talk with her. I think that, because she also trusted me, she was able to rent me one of the rooms in her house. I don't think that she would rent a room to anybody just for money because, as you know, it is not easy to live with a stranger, especially when you have children. She was a single mom with a daughter. She also had two sons but they did not visit her frequently. Due to our different cultures and my poor English at that time, everything was challenging for me at first, but I handled difficult situations with the belief that everything is a learning process. Despite language and culture barriers, we got along well. We were both lonely as a single mom and a foreign student, so sometimes we consoled each other. One day, I was very sick. I was totally devastated at that time because I did not know anything such as where a hospital was and so on. But, thankfully, she took me to a hospital. That was only one example. In addition to it, I still have many good memories. For example, her house had a small refrigerator, and she cleaned one portion so I was able to use it. As you know, some Korean food has a strong smell such as Kim-chi. I worried about it but she had never complained about it. Also, although she was poor and had a low education level, she always respected my culture. In fact, we stayed in contact with each other for a long time.]

In the excerpt above, Ms. Park indicated that she became more comfortable with African Americans through her direct experience of interacting with the African American family in the UK.

Lastly, I chose Ms. Park's classroom because she allowed her students to talk to peers about what they read during the various literacy activities. Ms. Park expressed that she used to lecture to her students in Korea. Here, though, she started to pay attention to social learning as she was informed of the American school system by her sons. As she realized that most US classrooms consider social learning and discussions in a small group as crucial factors in learning, she started to allow her students to talk during reading activities. She also tried to encourage her

students to be actively involved in reading and sharing their responses. This was another important factor in selecting her classroom as my research site.

Participating children. The children that participated in this study included three girls (Grace, Katie and Sue) and three boys (Jimmy, Young, and Sam). I had observed these same children for four semesters since Fall 2010. All of the children were kindergarteners (five years old), except for Jimmy who was in a first grade. They were either Koreans or Korean Americans. The ethnicity of all participating parents was Koreans. Although I did not ask the exact age of each participating parents, their age range was from their mid-thirties to early forties. The children knew each other very well in Ms. Park's classroom because some of them had been classmates for two years at the KLS (this will be explained in detail in the finding section). A brief background of each participant is discussed in the succeeding sub-sections (a student's name is listed in alphabetical order).

Grace. Grace was a five-year-old Korean American girl who was born in the US. Since she liked the pink color, she used to wear a pink dress. She had visited Korea when she was four years old. Grace was a quiet child. During my whole observation session, I had a very limited chance to talk with her. She was especially shy of strangers. However, Grace' father indicated that, although she seemed shy in class, she was usually talkative when she was with her parents at home.

With regards to Grace's language/literacy competence, Grace was good at speaking both Korean and English, compared to the other children. She was especially proficient in reading Korean. She often read aloud Korean books at the KLS library by herself very skillfully. She also had a high grade in a weekly Korean vocabulary test. She used both languages during class, but she mostly used English when talking with her peers. Grace indicated that she felt

comfortable in using both languages, but her mother stated that Grace appeared more fluent when using English. According to Grace's mother, Grace started to speak English dominantly after going to a preschool. In terms of the ethnicity identified by Grace, she said that she is "exactly" in between Korean and American.

Grace's family moved to the US six and half years ago as Grace's father decided to pursue his doctoral degree in the US. At the time of the study, Grace's father was a post-doctoral researcher in a nearby university, and her mother was pursuing her master's degree in the same school. Grace had one little brother who was four years younger than her. Grace's mother indicated that she was satisfied with educational surroundings in the US because of the American education system often focuses on creative and critical learning. She also informed me that the purpose of sending Grace to the KLS was to teach her Korean language and culture because her family would return to Korea after she finished her degree.

Jimmy. Among the six participants, Jimmy was the only child who was born in Korea. Jimmy moved to the US when he was two years old. He was one year older than his peers; he was a first grader while other participating children were kindergarteners. Jimmy liked to do some active sports such as baseball and running. Being the oldest boy in Ms. Park's classroom, he was slightly taller than other boys with a sturdy build, and he often emphasized his age to his peers and the teacher. Jimmy often made funny gestures or a comical face, and that made his peers laugh.

When I met Jimmy at first in Fall 2010, he spoke Korean dominantly in both formal and informal contexts. However, in Spring 2012, he used English more frequently when he talked with his peers and he often spoke Korean during class. Although Jimmy switched his languages with no difficulty, it seemed that his dominant language was Korean. His mother also indicated

that, although she did not specifically teach him Korean at home, Jimmy seemed more comfortable in speaking Korean, rather than English. When I asked Jimmy about his ethnicity, he identified himself as a Korean. His mother also supported this saying that Jimmy seemed to think of himself as a Korean.

As for the family background of Jimmy, his family moved to the US in 2006 for his father's academic purpose. Since then, his family had rarely visited Korea. Jimmy had a one-year-old sister. In 2012, Jimmy's father was a post-doctoral researcher in the Engineering Department at a nearby school. Both Jimmy's father and mother were born and grew up in Korea, and they had never had an experience in living in a foreign country until they moved to the US. Jimmy's mother was a homemaker who held a bachelor's degree in Korea. Jimmy's mother and father spoke English at a communicative level. Jimmy's mother informed me that his family was planning to obtain the right of permanent residency in the US because they were content with the American education system, and did not want to pay the high cost of private education in Korea.

Katie. Katie was a Korean American girl who was five years old. She was a girl who was particularly interested in "girls' stuffs" such as cosmetics and accessories. She often wore colorful clothes with some accessories such as a hat, a hair band and a shawl. When I first met her in Fall 2010, she often resisted doing her worksheets and expressed her desire to go home. However, she was very active in talking with peers, mostly using English, and she frequently initiated conversations during snack time. Her teacher at that time told me that Katie's Korean writing skills were behind those of the other children in the class. After that semester, she did not attend the KLS for a year. When I met Katie again in Ms. Park's classroom, her Korean

speaking skill was improved. However, Ms. Park indicated that her Korean reading and writing skills were not as fluent as those of her peers so that she had to pay special attention to her.

In terms of Katie's ethnic identity, she seemed not certain about it. It seemed that Katie's dominant language was English since she spoke English more frequently in both a formal and informal context. Katie's mother also indicated that Katie's first language is English. In Ms. Park's classroom, Katie occasionally missed Korean vocabulary tests because of her tardy arrival. Also, she often received a lower score than her peers on her vocabulary tests.

In terms of Katie's family background, her family moved to the US in 2001 for her father's academic purpose. Since then, her family had been to Korea three times. After moving to the US, Katie's father finished his doctoral degree and he had worked in a company for several years. Katie's mother indicated that, although she did not want to give Katie any pressure to learn Korean language, she still believed the importance of teaching Katie her Korean heritage, and that was the main reason to send her to the KLS. Since Katie's family had settled down in the US, they did not have a plan to go back to Korea in the near future. However, they were open to the possibility at a later time.

Sam. Sam was a five-year old Korean American boy who was born in the US. He had a relatively smaller build compared to other boys. He made trips to Korea several times to see his grandparents. Sam seemed uncertain about his ethnic identity. Sam liked to play every kind of sports. He was also in favor of eating grapes. Sam joined the KLS in Fall 2011. At that time, his Korean reading and writing skills seemed behind compared to his peers. He also rarely talked with his peers regardless of his languages. However, in Ms. Park's classroom, Sam tried to talk with his peers and the teacher more frequently, although he usually spoke very slowly no matter what language he used.

It seemed that Sam's dominant language was Korean because, although he used both Korean and English, he used Korean more often. Jimmy's mother also indicated that Korean was his first language. Sam often received a high score in Korean vocabulary tests. According to Sam's mother, Sam's Korean skills were improved because Sam's parents allowed him to speak only Korean at home. Yet, she also expressed her worry that the emphasis on speaking only Korean could cause an impediment in his speech in both languages.

In terms of Sam's family background, Sam's parents were born and educated in Korea, and they moved to the US in 2002 due to his father's academic purpose. His father worked in a nearby company after getting his doctoral degree in the Engineering Department of the local university. Sam's mother received her bachelor's degree in Korea, and after moving to the US, she had focused on housework. Sam had an eight-year-old sister who went to the same school with him, and he often bragged about her age to his peers. Sam's mother indicated that, since her family had settled down in the US, they did not have a plan to return to Korea.

Sue. Sue was a five-year-old girl. She was born in the US, and she had never been to Korea. As for her ethnic identity, Sue identified herself as a Korean and American. When I saw her in Fall 2010, she was usually quiet in class and her dominant language seemed to be Korean since she often used Korean even when talking with her peers. However, in Ms. Park's classroom, she used English more dominantly, although she spoke both Korean and English well compared to the other children. Sue herself also indicated that she felt more comfortable when speaking in English. Her mother also considered English as Sue's dominant language. Like Grace, her Korean literacy skills including reading, writing, and speaking were outstanding, and she often got high scores in her vocabulary test. She was also very active in most class activities in Ms. Park's classroom.

In terms of Sue's family background, Sue lived only with her mother because Sue's father moved to a foreign country after receiving his doctoral degree in the US. Sue's mother moved to the US six years ago and, at the time of this study, Sue's mother was pursuing her doctoral degree in music in a nearby school. Both Sue's mother and father were born and grew up in Korea. Since Sue did not have any siblings, she had to spend most of her time with her mother. During this study, I had very limited chances to have interviews with Sue's mother because she could not participate in interviews due to her busy schedule.

Young. Young, a five-year-old Korean American boy, was born in the US, and he had visited Korea four times with his family. During his free time at home, Young liked to play TV games, particularly Galaxy. In Ms. Park's classroom, he often got small prizes such as candies or chocolate from the teacher because he usually maintained good behavior in class. However, when I met Young at first in Fall 2010, he often cried, refusing to be separated from his mother. Also, he was often very quiet with a sullen face. However, as he had attended to the KLS for two years, he became more active in talking with his peers and teachers while playing and studying. In terms of his language, he was capable of switching his languages from Korean to English and English to Korean with no difficulty. Yet, it seemed that his dominant language was English since he indicated that he felt more comfortable in speaking English. His mother also stated that English might be his dominant language.

When I asked Young about his ethnicity, he often answered, "I am Korean... AND American." Young's mother mentioned that she used to encourage him to speak only Korean at home but, because it made him less verbal, she started to allow him to speak whichever language was more comfortable for him. She also informed me that she was making an effort to teach him

Korean language and culture because of her belief that it was important for him to be proud to be Korean, although he had been born in the US and might live here for the rest of his life.

As for Young's family, Young's father moved to the US ten years ago on account of his study in the US. After getting his doctoral degree, Young's father had worked as a faculty member at an engineering department at the nearby school. His mother was a homemaker who had her master's degree in music. Young had a sister who was two years older than he and she went to an elementary school. Both of Young's parents were born and educated in Korea. However, Young's father spoke fluent English as he practiced English on a daily basis for ten years by watching movies and reading English books. Young's mother indicated that they did not have a specific plan to go back to Korea. The following table summarizes each participating child's language and family backgrounds.

Table 1

Descriptions of Each Participant

Name	Gender	Age	Nationality	Family Backgrounds	Dominant Language indicated by the Children
Grace	Female	5	Korean-American	Parents & one younger brother	Both
Jimmy	Male	6	Korean	Parents & one younger sister	Korean
Katie	Female	5	Korean-American	Parents & one older brother	English
Sam	Male	5	Korean-American	Parents & one older sister	Korean
Sue	Female	5	Korean-American	Only mother	English
Young	Male	5	Korean-American	Parents & one older sister	English

This section provided background information about each participant. The next section focuses on what books were selected during Story Time, how they were selected, and what activities were conducted after readings.

Book Selection Process

During the observation period, Ms. Park read twelve social justice books, one each week. She selected all of these books in collaboration with the researcher. The book selection process was conducted in two steps. In the initial book selection process, I searched for possible social justice books through visits to local libraries, navigating web sources, and discussions with my advisor. After my initial searching process, Ms. Park and I had formal meetings twice to review those books together and, after sharing our opinions, we selected twelve books. In the first section, I start by discussing how I selected eighteen books through my initial searching process. Then, I explain how Ms. Park and I narrowed them down to twelve books.

Initial book selection process. The KLS had a small library in the basement, but there were no multicultural books, written in either English or Korean. Local libraries provided quality social justice literature for young children. However, all of these books were written in English; there were few Korean books in the libraries but all of these books were about English grammar instruction. Therefore, for selecting Korean books, I visited Korea for three weeks. However, although I visited almost every large bookstore and public libraries in Seoul, I was not able to find any social justice books for young children written in either Korean or English. Thus, I mostly relied on internet sources. The following sub-section explains how I selected Korean books while visiting Korea.

Selection of Korean books. Because I was unable to find any social justice books for children in bookstores in Korea, I checked every online bookstore. Through an in-depth online search process, I was able to find an online bookstore whose name was 알라딘 [Aladdin]. Although the company (Aladdin Communication) did not specialize in social justice literature, it had a small “인권도서” [a social justice book] section for young children (<http://blog.aladin.co.kr/714960143/3646680>). In fact, it was the only company that listed social justice books for young children. Mr. Song, who managed the social justice section in Aladdin Communications, indicated that he created it with the belief that, in order to create a more just society, children need to read books dealing with human rights from an early age:

전에 페이퍼로 작성했던 인권에 대한 책을 리스트로 올린다. 인권을 보호받지 못한 약자가 할 수 있는 일은 많지 않다. 그럼에도 불구하고 당하고만 있을 수 없고, 스스로 권리를 찾기 위해서 무언가 행동해야 한다. 더불어 사는 세상을 만들어 가기 위해서라도 어린이와 함께 인권 관련 책을 봐야 하지 않을까 [Here is the list of books that deal with human rights. There are not many things that the oppressed can do. However, despite that, we should still try to do something to find our own rights. In order to create “the world of together,” it is important to read books with young children that deal with human rights.]

In that section, Mr. Song listed approximately fifteen picture books containing human rights issues, written in Korean. All of these books were published in Korea, but only two books were written by a Korean author; seven books were originally published in the US and six books were published in European countries.

After I found fifteen books, I reviewed the brief stories of each book online. Most social justice books published in the US focused on racial issues in African American contexts such as the civil rights movements, slavery, and racial segregation while the books published in European countries dealt with the issues including war, hunger, and Nazism. In terms of two books written by a Korean author, one book dealt with the story of Martin Luther King and the other one focused on the issue of Hitler and the holocaust. Through this review process, I

selected seven books because those books focused on social justice issues in the African American context. In terms of the genre of the books, all seven books were picture books for young children. The following list presents the details.

Table 2

Korean Social Justice Books

Title of Book	Author/ Illustrator	Language (Translator)	Original Publishing Country	Year
<i>일어나요, 로자</i> [<i>Stand up, Rosa</i>] Original: <i>Rosa</i> (2005)	Nikki Giovanni/ Bryan Collier	Korean (Soon Hee, Choi)	US	2006
<i>그레이스는 놀라워</i> [<i>Amazing Grace</i>] Original: <i>Amazing Grace</i> (1991)	Mary Hoffman/ Caroline Binch	Korean (Soon Hee, Choi)	US	2005
<i>해리의 자유상자</i> [<i>Henry's Freedom Box</i>] Original: <i>Henry's Freedom Box</i> (2007)	Ellen Levine/ Kadir Nelson	Korean (Hyang Hee, Kim)	US	2008
<i>사라. 버스를 타다</i> [<i>Sarah, Rides a Bus</i>] Original: <i>The Bus Ride</i> (2001)	William Miller/ John Ward	Korean (Chan Seok, Park)	US	2004
<i>인종이야기를 해볼까?</i> [<i>Let's Talk about Race?</i>] Original: <i>Let's Talk about Race?</i> (2005)	Julius Lester/ Karen Barbour	Korean (So Jeong, Jo)	US	2007
<i>정말 그런인종이 있을까?</i> [<i>Do We Really Have That Kind of Race?</i>] Original: <i>Ma che razza di razza è?</i> (2000)	Silvia Roncaglia/ Cristiana Cerretti	Korean (Yoon Kyung, Chae)	Italy	2001
<i>자유의 노래</i> [<i>The Song of Freedom</i>]	Moo Hung Kang/ Jun Woo Park	Korean	Korea	2009

Among these seven books, two books (*일어나요, 로자* [*Stand up, Rosa*], and *인종이야기를 해볼까?* [*Let's Talk about Race?*]) were written by African American

authors, and five books were written by either whites or Koreans: four books, *그레이트는 놀라워* [*Amazing Grace*], *헨리의 자유상자* [*Henry's Freedom Box*], *사라. 버스를 타다* [*Sarah, Rides a Bus*], and *정말 그런 인종이 있을까?* [*Do We Really Have That Kind of Race?*] were written by white authors, and one book, *자유의 노래* [*The Song of Freedom*] was written by a Korean author.

After selecting the seven books, I ordered them through online sources and brought them with me when I came back to the US. Although I found some quality social justice books written in Korean, I did another thorough search of quality social justice literature written in English because there were more exceptional resources in the US libraries.

Selection of English books. In order to obtain valuable social justice books written in English, I visited some websites including the Cooperative Children's Book Center (CCBC) (<http://www.education.wisc.edu/ccbc>). I also visited all the bookstores around my living area to gain any information related to my study. In addition, I visited some libraries to get some advice about social justice books for young children from librarians. As I frequently visited the same libraries, I had a chance to explain my project to some of the librarians, and they helped me select young children's books that focused on social justice themes.

My selection of books was also influenced by my academic advisor's suggestions. She suggested approximately seven possible books that dealt with race, diversity, and social justice themes in African American contexts. These books included *Bessie Coleman* by Eric Braun (2002), *Tar Beach* by Faith Ringgold (1991), *The Story of Ruby Bridges* by Robert Coles (1995), *Goin' Someplace Special* by Patricia McKissack (2001), *Jamaica and Brianna* by Juanita Havill (1993), *Visiting Day* by Jacqueline Woodson (2002), and *My Brother Charlie* by Holly Robinson Peete (2010). I first examined those books through online, focusing on reading levels, main

themes, and some reviews conducted by other readers. Then, I checked them out from the local libraries.

After gathering all possible resources, I examined each book in a more detail manner based on the following criteria: (1) if books had characters with stereotypical roles and behaviors, (2) if illustrations are attractive for young children, and (3) if the books are suitable for kindergarten children. Then, I selected eleven possible books. The following table exhibits which books were selected through an initial review process.

Table 3

English Social Justice Books

Title of Book	Author (Illustrator)	Language	Publishing Year
<i>Bessie Coleman</i>	Eric Braun (Not indicated)	English	2002
<i>Tar Beach</i>	Faith Ringgold (Not indicated)	English	1991
<i>The Story of Ruby Bridges</i>	Robert Coles (George Ford)	English	1995
<i>Visiting Day</i>	Jacqueline Woodson (James E. Ransome)	English	2002
<i>Chocolate Me!</i>	Taye Diggs (Shane W. Evans)	English	2011
<i>Jamaica and Brianna</i>	Juanita Havill (Anne Sibley O'Brien)	English	1993
<i>My Brother Charlie</i>	Holly Robinson Peete (Ryan Elizabeth Peete)	English	2010
<i>The Color of Us</i>	Karen Katz (Karen Katz)	English	2002
<i>Goin' Somewhere Special</i>	Patricia C. McKissack (Jerry Pinkney)	English	2001
<i>Black and White just Right</i>	Marquerite W. Davol (Irene Trivas)	English	1993
<i>Coopers' Lesson</i>	Shin, S. Y (Kim Cogan)	Bilingual (English & Korean)	2004

All of the books were written in English by American authors except for one bilingual book *Coopers' Lesson* (2004). Through this initial review process, I selected the total of eighteen books: eleven English books and seven Korean books. Then, I shared those books with Ms. Park during our formal meetings. When I introduced those books to her, I provided her with detailed information of each book including some reviews. After sharing our opinions about eighteen books, we selected twelve books. The next sub-section continues discussing how Ms. Park and I chose those twelve books.

Selection criteria. In order to select the books, I met Ms. Park twice in a local library before the semester started. I brought approximately ten books to each meeting, and we selected six books each time. First, we examined each book very carefully and had long discussions about its themes, a reading level, and illustrations. While exchanging our ideas, we decided several selecting criteria as follows:

- If the illustrations are attractive for young children
- If plot, setting, style, and theme are interwoven to create a convincing story in an age appropriate manner
- If the books dealt with social justice themes in the African American context including racial segregation, discrimination, the civil rights movement, slavery, freedom, and etc.
- If the books reflect African American people/culture
- If the books involve anti-biased approach to challenge prejudice and stereotyping
- How the books explore issues of racial/cultural/ethnic diversity
- How the books illustrate the concept that people from diverse group can work and play together and overcome obstacles

Based on these criteria, we selected twelve books. The following table exhibits the title of the selected books.

Table 4

Twelve Selected Books

Title of Book	Author	Publication Year	Language
그레이트는 놀라워 [<i>Amazing Grace</i>]	Mary Hoffman	2005	Korean
인종이야기를 해볼까? [<i>Let's Talk about Race?</i>]	Julius Lester	2007	Korean
헨리의 자유상자 [<i>Henry's Freedom Box</i>]	Ellen Levine	2008	Korean
정말 그런 인종이 있을까? [<i>Do We Really Have That Kind of Race?</i>]	Silvia Roncaglia	2001	Korean
<i>The Story of Ruby Bridges</i>	Robert Coles	1995	English
<i>Chocolate Me!</i>	Taye Diggs	2011	English
<i>Jamaica and Brianna</i>	Juanita Havill	1993	English
<i>Visiting Day</i>	Jacqueline Woodson	2002	English
<i>Bessie Coleman</i>	Eric Braun	2002	English
사라 버스를타다 [<i>Sarah, Rides a Bus</i>]	William Miller	2004	Korean
<i>Tar Beach</i>	Faith Ringgold	1991	English
자유 노래 [<i>Song of Freedom</i>]	Moo Hung Kang	2009	Korean

All selected books were published in the last twenty years, mostly in the 2000's. Among those twelve books, half of them (six books) were published in Korea and the other half were published in the US. The language of the books was either Korean or English, and there were no bilingual books. The reading level of all selected books was indicated as “ages 4 and up” except

for *자유의 노래* [*The Song of Freedom*] (2009) and *정말 그런 인종이 있을까?* [*Do We Really Have That Kind of Race?*] (2001). While most books published in the US indicated a reading level, books published in other countries including Korea did not specify it. Among these books, *Amazing Grace* by Hoffman (1991) and *Henry's Freedom Box* by Levine (2007) were already introduced to some children in the previous semester by a different teacher: at that time, I requested the teacher to read those books to the children but only one or two pages were read.

When Ms. Park and I selected twelve books, we did not decide the order of books in advance in order to allow flexibility to choose the next book based on the previous observation. The next sub-section discusses brief descriptions of each book, why we chose these books, and how we selected the order of books.

Descriptions of selected books. The Spring 2012 semester consisted of fourteen weeks, and Ms. Park read one book each week. The actual reading session started from the second week because Ms. Park wanted to give the children some time to become adjusted to new classroom surroundings before starting reading the books. On the first day, Ms. Park announced to the children that she would read a picture book each week during Story Time. As an example of a book, she introduced the cover of the book *그레이스는 놀라워* [*Amazing Grace*] by Hoffman (2005) because some children had already seen its cover in the previous semester (the detailed information about the book is discussed later in this section).

The first book was *인종이야기를 해볼까?* [*Let's Talk about Race?*] (2007), and it was read in week 2. It was the translated book of *Let's Talk about Race* (2005) by Lester. Both books had the exact same illustration with each other (note: all translated book had the same illustration with the original).

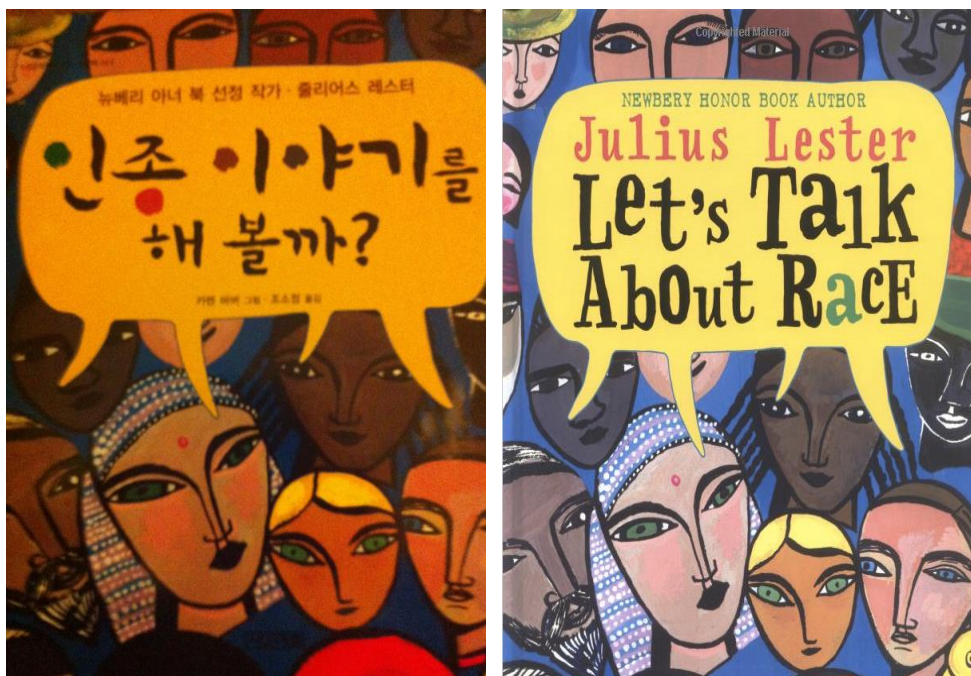


Figure 5. The cover of *인종이야기를 해볼까?* [*Let's Talk about Race?*] and the original.

The book had no specific plot development because it focused on introducing people with different skin colors. The main message of the book was that everyone deserves to be treated with respect because all humans are the same regardless of their skin colors. Ms. Park and I chose it for the first book because we agreed that the book would lay the foundation for the children to understand how people are different, and why we should treat others with kindness regardless of their skin colors.

As the second reading in week 3, we chose *헨리의 자유상자* [*Henry's Freedom Box*] (2008), which was a translated version of the book *Henry's Freedom Box* by Levine (2007). We chose this book as the second reading because, as we introduced racial diversity to the children in the previous week, we wanted to move on to the issue of how people with different skin colors were treated differently in the US history. Also, since the book was introduced to some children by a different teacher in the previous semester, we wanted to read it to the children while their memories were still fresh.

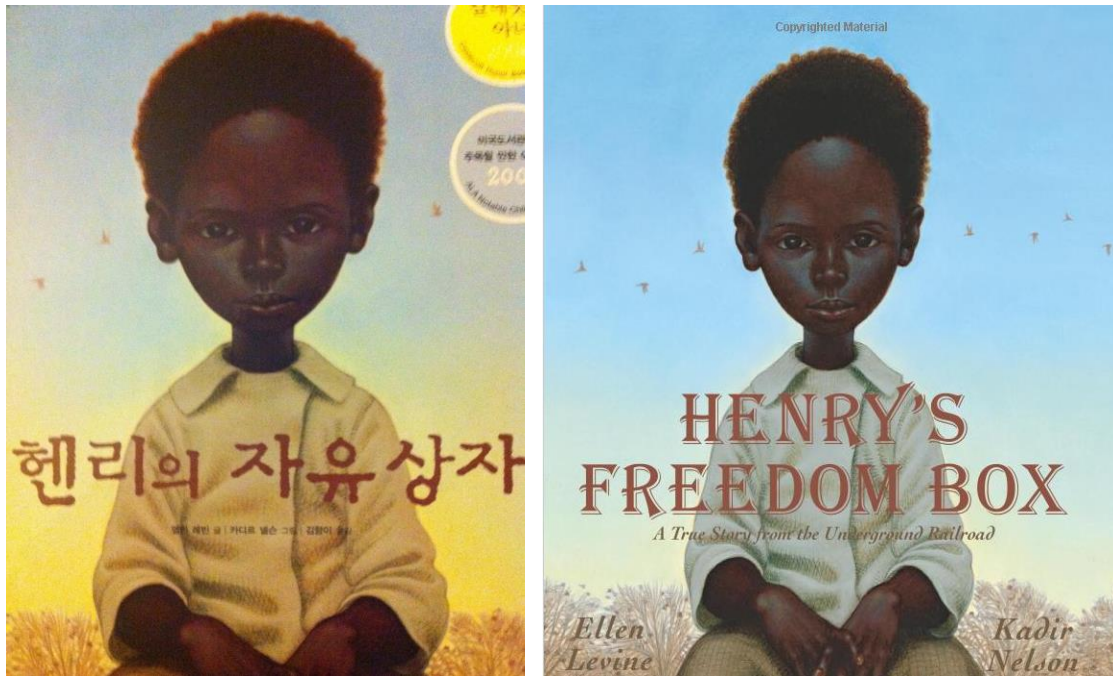


Figure 6. The cover of *헨리의 자유상자* [Henry's Freedom Box] and the original.

As piece of historical fiction, the book was based on the story of a young African American boy, Henry Brown, who escaped from slavery in 1849. Henry grew up in slavery, working hard in a tobacco factory. Years later, he married Nancy and they had two children. However, as Nancy's master sold Nancy and her children to the slave market, Henry escaped to the North by mailing himself in a wooden crate.

Ms. Park and I selected the book because, based on the true story of Henry Brown, who mailed himself from Virginia to Philadelphia, it portrayed the themes of family, Freedom, cruelties of slavery, and the depressing events of slave's lives. Although the racial hostility during slavery could be hard for young children to read, we believed that the book would provide the children with a chance to learn the notion of freedom and injustice.

For the third reading in week 4, Ms. Park and I chose *정말 그런 인종이 있을까?* [Do We Really Have That Kind of Race?] (2001), and it was originally published in Italy.



Figure 7. The cover of 정말 그런 인종이 있을까? [Do We Really Have That Kind of Race?]

The book had a similar message with the first book *인종이야기를 해볼까?* [Let's Talk about Race?]. It introduced people with different skin tones throughout the book with the message that all human beings are created equally regardless of skin color. However, while the prior book *인종이야기를 해볼까?* focused on only racial issues, this book covered more of a variety of issues including different religions and cultures. We chose the book because we wanted to try a different book with a parallel message but different illustrations.

In week 5, Ms. Park read the book *The Story of Ruby Bridges* by Coles (1995) as the fourth reading. Since previous books were written in Korean, it was the first English book.

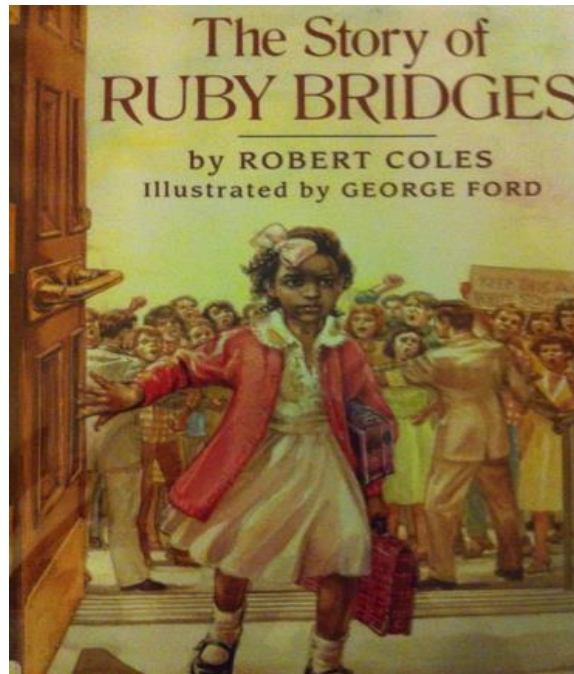


Figure 8. The cover of *The Story of Ruby Bridges*.

The book was based on the true story of a girl, named Ruby, who attended a whites-only school in New Orleans during the 1960's. Ruby attended a white school, but being a sole black girl, Ruby had to be escorted to school by police marshals. Also, since white parents withdrew their kids, Ruby had to learn alone with her teacher in an empty classroom. Yet, Ruby's belief in God helped to strengthen her during the experience at school. Ms. Park and I selected this book because of its potential to teach young children the issue of racial persecution at school as the perils of a major event in the US history. We also believed that Ruby's perseverance and forgiveness would be powerful lessons for the children. In addition, since the children had already read an unjust story of a black boy Henry, we wanted to introduce the story of discrimination from a black girl's perspective.

Ms. Park and I chose the book *그레이스는 놀라워* [*Amazing Grace*] (2005) for the fifth reading in week 6. It was originally published in the US by Mary Hoffman in 1991.

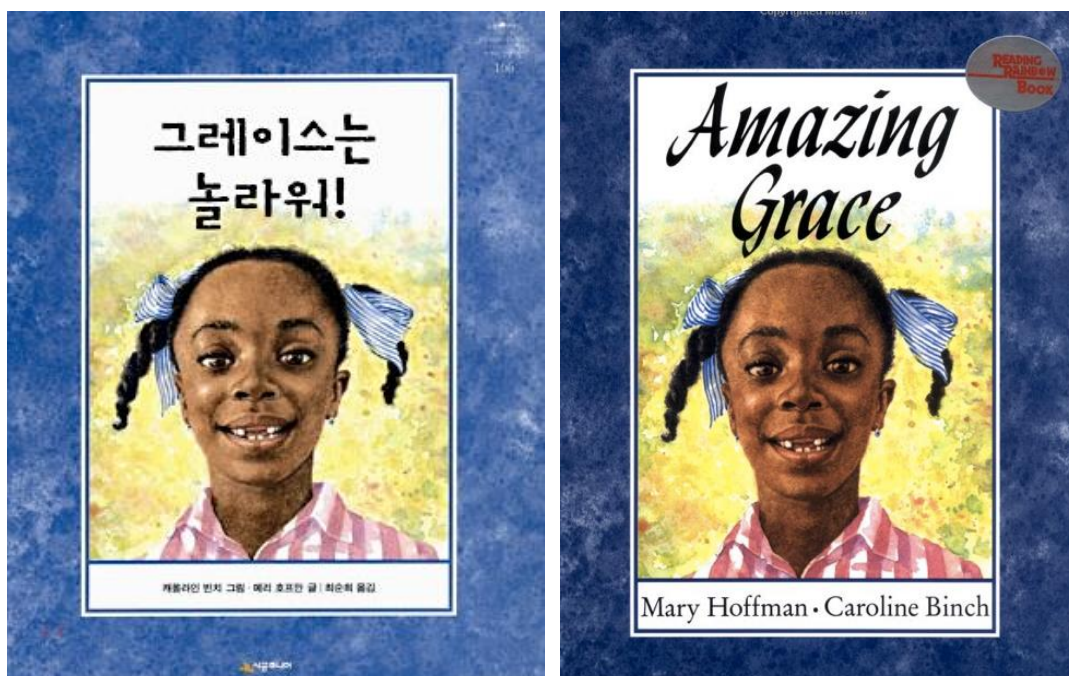


Figure 9. The cover of 그레이스는 놀라워 [Amazing Grace] and its original.

The book dealt with a story about a black girl named Grace who wanted to play Peter Pan in her school play. Although some of her peers told her that she could not be Peter Pan because of her race and gender, Grace overcame the peers' doubts and fulfilled her desire to perform Peter Pan. The main message of the book was that all children are capable of doing remarkable things regardless of gender, race, and culture. The book was chosen because we believed that the book could provide the children with a chance to think about the issue of stereotypes such as why Peter Pan always should be a white and a man. Also, since the main messages of the previous books (e.g. racial segregation, slavery) were somewhat depressing, we wanted to read the book with a “bright” message.

In week 8, the book *Chocolate Me!* (2011) was selected for the sixth reading (note: there was no class in week 7). Ms. Park and I chose *Chocolate Me!* as a “laid-back” book, which means a book that can be read in a more comfortable atmosphere, because the book had fewer words, and illustrations of the book were colorful and engaging for preschool-aged children.

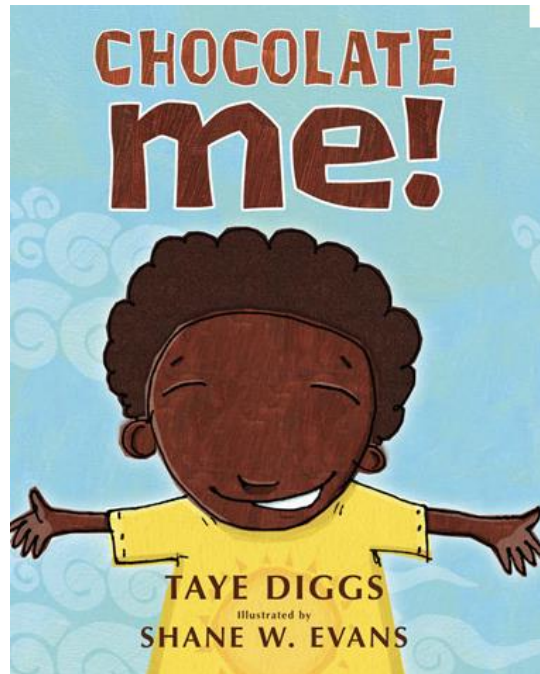


Figure 10. The cover of *Chocolate Me!*

The book dealt with the story of a boy who was ridiculed by his peers (Johnny, Timmy and Mark) about his darker skin, curlier hair and bigger nose. Although the boy felt unpleasant about himself because of being different looking, as he found some similarities between himself and chocolate, he started to value his dark skin and love what he saw. The main theme of the book was self-acceptance and self-esteem regardless of skin colors. We chose this book because we valued the main message that *no matter what your skin color is, be proud of yourself*.

For the following week's reading Ms. Park and I determined to read the book whose main theme is a friendship between girls since we read a story of boys with different skin colors in the previous week. Thus, we chose *Jamaica and Brianna* by Havill (1993).

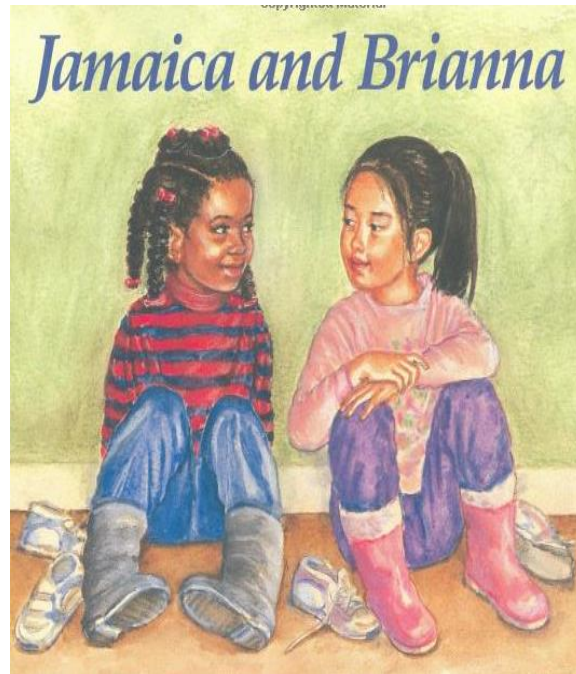


Figure 11. The cover of *Jamaica and Brianna*.

The book dealt with the story of two young girls, a young African American girl named Jamaica and her Asian-American classmate. Jamaica had to wear her older brother's worn-out boots with a hole while her friend Brianna had boots with pink fluff. Since Brianna made fun of Jamaica for wearing "boy boots," Jamaica enlarged the hole in her boot until her mother would have to get her a new pair. In a shoe store, she picked boots that were different from Brianna's despite her desire to wear Brianna's pink boots. When they met again, they retaliated with an unkind remark about each other's boots and both girls became upset. Yet, they end up telling their true feelings and apologizing to each other. We chose the book because it was almost the only book that dealt with the friendship between an African-American girl and a girl with an Asian background. Also, the illustrations depicted the students from a different race throughout the book. The topic was also something that the children could experience in life.

In week 10, we chose the book *Visiting Day* by Woodson (2002). Like previous book, the book was told from a young child's point of view. Yet, it focused on a family theme, rather

than friendship. The cover of the book exhibited an African American man and his daughter's happy reunion.

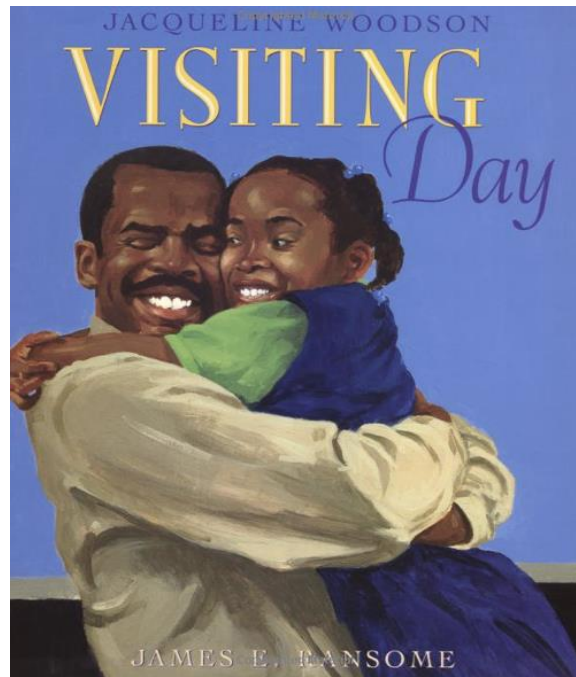


Figure 12. The cover of *Visiting Day* (2002).

The book was about the special day each month for a young black girl who narrated the story. It chronicled her special preparations for a journey with her grandmother to see her father in prison. The book was chosen because it dealt with the rare topic of visiting a loved one in prison in the African American context. The illustrations were also rich in color and detail.

Ms. Park and I selected *Bessie Coleman* by Braun (2002) for the following week. Because we read the story of the man in prison in the previous week, we determined to introduce the children the story of an African American who made a significant contribution in the US history.

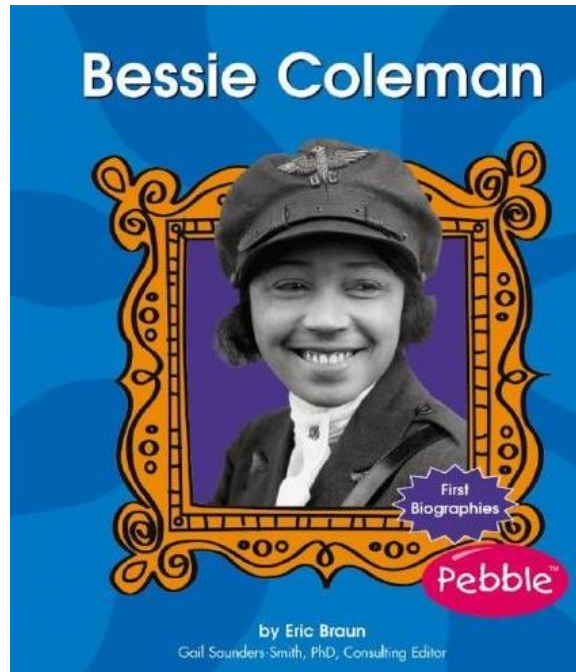


Figure 13. The cover of *Bessie Coleman*.

The book dealt with the true story of *Bessie Coleman* who became the first African American female pilot. It provided a straightforward chronological approach to Coleman's life from her childhood in a log cabin to her death in a plane crash in 1926. The book conveyed the message that, with faith and determination, anybody regardless of skin colors, is able to overcome obstacles such as racism, gender discrimination, and poverty, and achieve his/her dream. Also, with simple sentences, black-and-white photographs, concise information, and a time line at the bottom of the page, it effectively portrayed Coleman's struggles to be the first African American pilot.

In week 12, Ms. Park and I decided to come back to the issues of discrimination, segregation, and freedom because those were main social justice themes I investigated in this study. Thus, we chose the book *사라 버스를 타다* [*Sarah, Rides a Bus*] (2004), which was a translated version of *The Bus Ride* by Miller (2001).

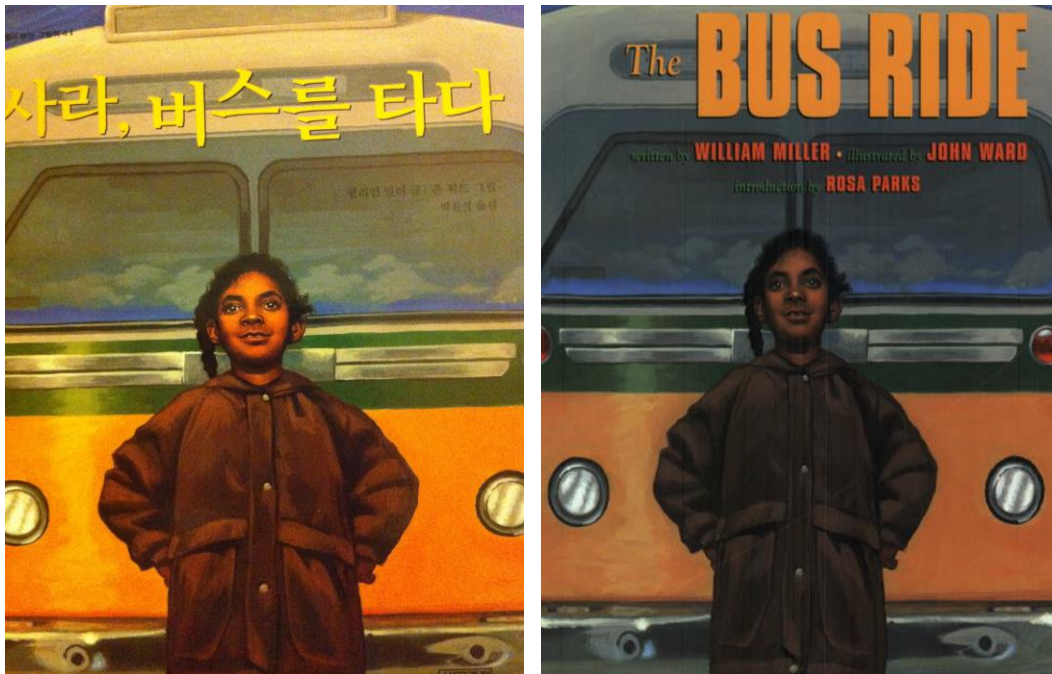


Figure 14. The cover of 사라, 버스를 타다 [Sarah, Rides a Bus].

Based on the true story of Rosa Parks, the book talked about the story of the African American girl, Sarah, who was not legally allowed to sit in the front seats in a bus. One day, Sarah decided to sit in the front to see what was so special about the front seats. The bus driver warned her to move back to the back seat but, as she refused to give up her seat, Sarah ended up at the police station. Yet, as the media focuses on this unusual event, Sarah’s act of boldness was in headline news. We chose the book because it was based on the real-life story of Rosa Parks who took a big step for the civil rights movements. The story presented excellent examples of how one person, regardless of his/her skin color, can make a difference by taking a stand for what is right. Also, we believed its potential to serve as an important resource to teach how black people were treated differently in the US history.

For the next book, Ms. Park and I chose the book *Tar Beach* by Ringgold (1991) as another “laid-back book” with colorful illustrations and few words.

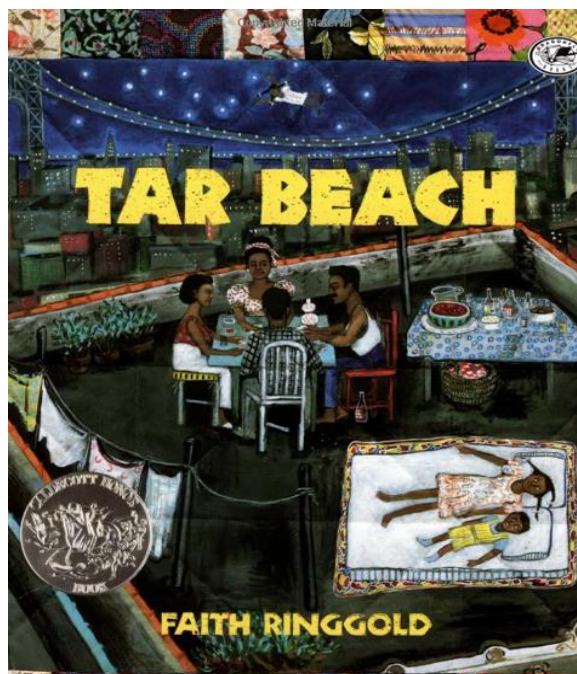


Figure 15. The cover of *Tar Beach*.

The cover showed a Harlem rooftop on a starry night with four adults playing cards. A narrator, Cassie, and her brother, Be Be, were lying on a blanket gazing at the sky. Cassie imagined flying over the city lights, wearing the George Washington Bridge as a necklace. We chose the book to provide the children with a chance to become familiar with African American people/culture. In addition, we were also fascinated by creative and colorful illustrations with acrylics on canvas paper with the occasional quilted piece. We believed that the colorful illustrations would help the children to be more engaged in reading and enjoy their imagination.

As the last book, we selected the historical fiction book *자유의 노래* [*The Song of Freedom*] by Kang (2009). It was the only Korean social justice book written by a Korean author among twelve selected books. We chose it as the last book since the book seemed too difficult for kindergarten children with many difficult Korean words such as 차별[discrimination], 비폭력 [nonviolence], and 저항[resistance].

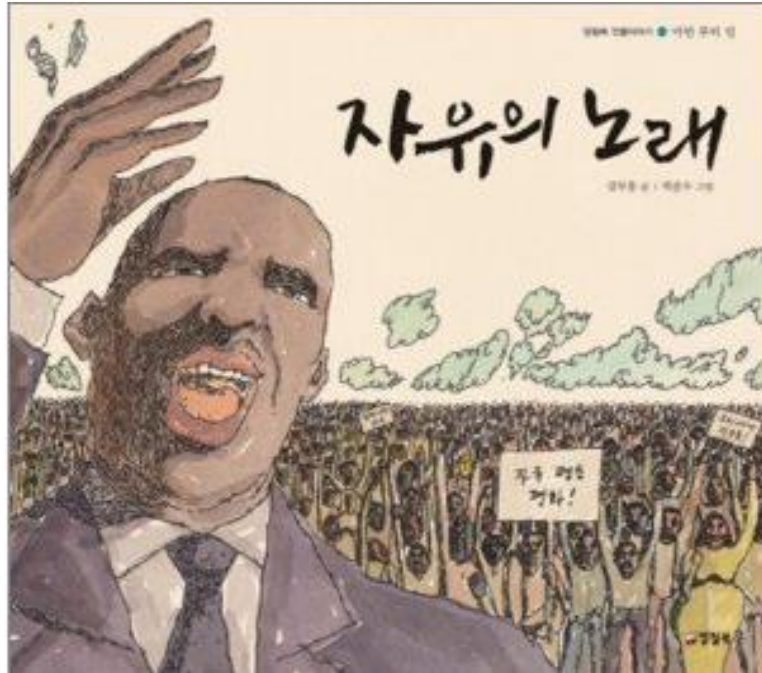


Figure 16. The cover of *자유의 노래* [*The Song of Freedom*] (2009).

Based on the true story of the civil rights movements, this fictional book dealt with the story of Martin Luther King and African American people's fight for freedom. It talked about racial segregation and unjust treatment of black people in schools, hospitals, and parks. It also depicted the historical moment when Martin Luther King delivered his "I have a dream" speech. Ms. Park and I chose the book due to its potential to teach the children King's message of hope, the importance of freedom, and African American's nonviolent protest in the US history. Also, we wanted to introduce the story of Martin Luther King to the children because most children seemed to be already familiar with that name. The following table summarizes the order of the books to be read with specific dates.

Table 5

The Order of Books

Week	Reading	Title of Book	Language
1	(02/11/2012)	<i>그레이트는 놀라워</i> [Amazing Grace] by Hoffman (2005)	Korean
2	Reading 1 (02/18/2012)	<i>인종이야기를 해볼까?</i> [Let's Talk about Race?] by Lester (2007)	Korean
3	Reading 2 (02/25/2012)	<i>헨리의 자유상자</i> [Henry's Freedom Box] by Levine (2008)	Korean
4	Reading 3 (03/03/2012)	<i>정말 그런 인종이 있을까?</i> [Do We Really Have That Kind of Race?] by Roncaglia (2001)	Korean
5	Reading 4 (03/10/2012)	<i>The Story of Ruby Bridges</i> by Coles (1995)	English
6	Reading 5 (03/17/2012)	<i>그레이트는 놀라워</i> [Amazing Grace] by Hoffman (2005)	Korean
7	(03/24/2012)	<i>Spring break</i>	
8	Reading 6 (03/31/2012)	<i>Chocolate Me!</i> by Diggs (2011)	English
9	Reading 7 (04/7/2012)	<i>Jamaica and Brianna</i> by Havill (1993)	English
10	Reading 8 (04/14/2012)	<i>Visiting Day</i> by Woodson (2002)	English
11	Reading 9 (04/21/2012)	<i>Bessie Coleman</i> by Braun (2002)	English
12	Reading 10 (04/28/2012)	<i>사라 버스를타다</i> [Sarah, Rides a Bus] by Miller (2004)	Korean
13	Reading 11 (05/05/2012)	<i>Tar Beach</i> by Ringgold (1991)	English
14	Reading 12 (05/12/2012)	<i>자유 노래</i> [Song of Freedom] by Kang(2009)	Korean

Although the stories in each book were different, they all dealt with racial issues such as racial diversity, African Americans' struggle in the history of the US. The next sub-section discusses the books on which I focused in this study.

Four focal books. Among the twelve books above, I particularly focused on four books for this study. Those books received awards and impressive evaluations by many reviewers with their literary and artistic values (this will be detailed in the finding section). The following table exhibits these four chosen books.

Table 6

The Four Focal Books

Week	Title of Book	Language	Reading Level	Page
2	<i>인종이야기를 해볼까?</i> [Let's Talk about Race?] by Lester (2007)	Korean	6 and up	32
3	<i>헨리의 자유상자</i> [Henry's Freedom Box] by Levine (2008)	Korean	4 and up	40
8	<i>Chocolate Me!</i> by Diggs (2011)	English	4 and up	40
12	<i>사라, 버스를타다</i> [Sarah, Rides a Bus] by Miller (2004)	Korean	5 and up	32

Although awards and evaluations were considered important for choosing the focal books, the most significant selection criteria were the children's interaction with the books. For example, although *Tar Beach* (1991) was written by a celebrated author and received several awards, I did not include it because the children showed less interaction with it than with other books. When the children read the four selected books, children's interactions with peers and books were more visible. Also, the children listened more attentively and actively responded to the books beyond commenting on illustrations in the books. These books also elicited more

lively conversations about racial issues including discrimination and racial diversity. Plus, each book focused on different social justice issues such as racial segregation, freedom, injustice, and racial diversity, and that helped me answer my research questions. The following table exhibits the main themes applied for each book.

Table 7

Main Themes of Each Book

Title of Book	Freedom	Injustice	Friendship	Racial diversity	Discrimination or Segregation	Family
인종이야기를 해볼까? [Let's Talk about Race?]				X	X	
헨리의 자유상자 [Henry's Freedom Box]	X	X			X	X
Chocolate Me!			X	X	X	
사라, 버스를 타다 [Sarah, Rides a Bus]	X	X			X	

In addition, these books were selected as the focal books because, when the children read these books, they did “after reading activity” such as creating written texts based on the given topic (except for *헨리의 자유상자* [Henry's Freedom Box]). This “after reading activity” also assisted me in answering my research questions. The following table demonstrates what activity was conducted and what topic was given to the children.

Table 8

After Reading Activities

Title of Book	Activity	Topic
<i>인종이야기를 해볼까?</i> [Let's Talk about Race?]	Drawing	Creating a written text about people with different skin colors
<i>헨리의 자유상자</i> [Henry's Freedom Box]	Skipped	Skipped
<i>Chocolate Me!</i>	Creating a mask	Creating a human face
<i>사라, 버스를 타다</i> [Sarah, Rides a Bus]	Drawing	What you remember about the book

The topics for these activities were chosen by Ms. Park with different reasons. She indicated that the activity of creating a written text about people with different skin colors was to provide the children with a chance to think about diverse skin colors. Also, the activity to create a mask about a human face was to help the children to think deeply about different human faces. The activity of drawing what the children remembered about the story was to help the children review the most impressive parts for them in the book.

This section discussed the context of the study including the site of the study, the description of each participant, and the book selection process. The following section focuses on how I collected and analyzed data.

Data Collection and Analysis

As part of the nineteen-month longitudinal study (October 2010 to May 2012), the present study focused on the data collected from December 2011 to May 2012. The first subsection starts by discussing how I collected data.

Data collection. I used multiple data collecting sources for this study in order to enhance the credibility and validity of the study. The data I used were (1) audio- recording, (2) open-ended interviews with the children, their parents, and the teacher, and the school official, (3) children's artifacts, (4) observational field notes, and (5) an informal notebook including memos and field jottings.

Audio-recordings. Among the data sources, the primary data were transcriptions of audio-recordings. Since the goal of the present study is to closely examine the children's discussions about race, it was crucial to have tape-recorded data to review their conversations and interactions in detail. In order to record children's discussions, I used to hide a tape recorder in my pocket and pick up the children's talk. At the beginning of the study, I used an old-fashioned tape recorder, but because some children noticed I recorded their voices, I had to switch it to my I-phone voice recorder. Using this device, I recorded a whole class session rather than focusing on only Story Time to capture the children's interactions in both a formal and informal context. After each observation session, I transcribed the children's dialogues and their responses. I usually transcribed them right after each observation session to keep my memory fresh. In transcribing data, I indicated which language they used by making a small mark in each sentence because they used both English and Korean in responding to books and talking to each other.

However, the dynamics of interaction between participants could not be obtained by recording equipment alone. Thus, in order to gain a holistic view of the children's reading, interviews were employed as an important data collecting method.

Interviews. Interviews were a particularly important data source for this study since I had limited access to the participating children's homes and schools. Also, because some parents

seemed uncomfortable in sharing their racial views, in order to capture the participants' genuine feelings toward African Americans, in-depth conversations were necessary. In terms of formal interviews, I conducted the interviews with the parents, the teacher, and the school official. All interviews were audiotaped with the participants' consent in order to ensure authenticity. Before conducting actual interviews, I first designed interview protocols because different types of interviews can generate different data (Kvale, 1996). I developed semi-structured interviews to focus on my original inquiry and not to be distracted by other issues brought up by the interviewees.

Collecting interview data with the children's parents was the most challenging work in the whole data collecting procedure due to the sensitivity of the issue. When I met them at first in Fall 2010, they were reluctant to talk about any sensitive issues including race. However, as I built up a level of trust through my long-term relations with them, they seemed to start to trust me, and it helped to share their honest feelings about African Americans. The interview with the children's fathers were also challenging because of their busy schedules in their schools or company works. Among the children's fathers, only Grace's father indicated his willingness to have some interviews. Also, Sue's mother expressed her unavailability to have any formal interviews due to her demanding school works as a doctoral student.

In terms of interview procedures, I interviewed each participating parent two or three times during this study. The first interview was conducted at the beginning of the semester and the second interview was performed at the end of the semester to see if the racial attitudes of the children/parents were changed during the semester. In addition to these two interviews, additional interviews were conducted if occasion arose and if interviewees were willing to provide more time for this study.

There were no group interviews in this study because a few mothers expressed their uncomfortable feelings about sharing their racial attitudes with the other participants. Thus, I set up a separate schedule for each interview with each participant. The interviews with parents were conducted in Korean to create a more comfortable atmosphere for them. The length of each interview was different depending on the situation and each participant's schedule. Also, the interviews took place at comfortable times and areas but most interviews occurred after class at Ms. Park's classroom. The following table presents each participating parent's interview date and place, and length of the interviews.

Table 9

Interviews with the Parents

Participant	Interview Date and Place
Grace's mother	02/18/12 at Ms. Park's classroom (40 minutes)
	05/05/12 at Ms. Park's classroom (30 minutes)
Grace's father	02/25/12 at a playroom (50 minutes)
	05/05/12 at Ms. Park's classroom (20 minutes)
Jimmy's mother	02/11/12 at Ms. Park's classroom (15 minutes)
	03/03/12 at Ms. Park's classroom (20 minutes)
	05/12/12 at Ms. Park's classroom (30 minutes)
Katie's mother	02/25/12 at a playroom (40 minutes)
	05/05/12 at Ms. Park's classroom (50 minutes)
Sam's mother	03/03/12 at an empty classroom (30 minutes)
	05/12/12 at a play room (30 minutes)
Young's mother	02/11/12 at a play room (40 minutes)
	03/17/12 at a play room (15 minutes)
	05/05/12 at Ms. Park's classroom (15 minutes)

In terms of interview questions, most questions were related to their children's literature-related experiences at home, parents' racial attitudes toward African Americans, their views about reading multicultural literature, the children's exposure to media that focused on African

American people/culture, and the children's school demographics. Although I created some interview questions in advance, I often asked several follow-up questions based on each participant's answers. Also, all questions were open-ended.

With regards to the interviews with the teacher, I had seven formal interviews with her: two interviews were conducted before the semester to discuss the books, and five interviews were performed during the semester to share her views regarding the children's reading literature. The interview time and place were decided at her convenience, but it usually took place before or after class in her classroom. The subsequent table presents the details.

Table 10

Interviews with the Teacher

Participant	Interview Date and Place
Teacher	02/02/12 at the local library (1 hour)
	02/08/12 at the local library (1 hour)
	02/25/12 at Ms. Park's classroom (30 minutes)
	03/03/12 at Ms. Park's classroom (30 minutes)
	03/31/12 at Ms. Park's classroom (20 minutes)
	04/14/12 at Ms. Park's classroom (30 minutes)
	05/12/12 at Ms. Park's classroom (50 minutes)

The interview questions included the teacher's teaching philosophy, her views on multicultural education, her racial attitudes toward African Americans, the challenges of teaching difficult social issues to young children, and her goal of using multicultural literature in her classroom.

In terms of the interview with a school officer, I conducted a formal interview once with Mr. Choi (the principal) in order to gain some information related to the KLS. The interview was conducted at an empty classroom at the last day of the semester. The interview questions

were related to how he started to serve as a principal at the KLS, the goals of the KLS, his views toward multicultural education, some challenges as the executive director, and his teaching philosophy.

In addition to the formal interviews, some informal interviews were conducted with the participating children, and they occurred in casual situations (e.g. during break) whenever the need arose. Although there were no pre-developed interview questions, the questions were usually related to the students' literature experiences outside KLS, book preferences, views toward people with dark skin, racial identity, and relationships with friends. After recording each interview, I wrote up the details related to the interviews. Then, all interview data were reviewed and transcribed immediately. They were also translated into English by the researcher.

Participant observation. According to Dyson and Genishi (2005), observation is one of the key methods in qualitative research. I observed the participating children while taping discussions between children and between the teacher and children. As one reading event usually occurred during one observation session, I wrote up observational field notes and added more details right after each observation in order not to miss important details. Also, after each observation session, I created observational field notes that were as descriptive as possible. My field notes were constructed through different kinds of information (e.g. copies of children's products, transcripts, the reflective memos, and handwritten observation notes).

Genzuk (2003) argues that qualitative researchers should focus on every detail of the research setting including feelings and physical expressions of participants. Thus, in order to produce vivid field notes, I tried to include all details about the physical environments including smells, noise, colors, size, and movements. I also included every detail about people in the setting such as gender, dress, appearance, and their emotions (e.g. anger, sadness, painful, and

disgust). Also, in order not to lose sensitivity for the setting, I jotted down nonverbal expressions of the participants' voices and gestures.

In making my field notes, I also tried to exclude my personal opinions: when I found the need to include my personal comments or questions, I put these comments in parentheses. Also, I kept track of children's friendship patterns by checking their self-selected seating arrangements and playmates during break time. It helped me to understand the "peer sphere" (Dyson, 1993) of the participating children.

Children's artifacts. Children's drawings during the second half of Story Time were also key artifacts for this study. Since the teacher allowed me to copy the participating children's written texts, I made photocopies of each child's composing after class. This was helpful due to the limitation of access to students' original works. I also took pictures of their artifacts using a digital camera to see what colors were used. After collecting the children's artifacts and some related materials, I created portfolio to keep track of the children's written texts and their conversations related to those texts.

For the security of the data, all data including digital audio files, electronic files, notes, interviews, and transcriptions were stored on my computer and password protected in order to ensure the security of data. The students' artifacts and any hard copies of documents were also securely stored at my home. Consent forms and any other information revealing participant identity were stored and accessible only to the researcher. Audio recordings used were also destroyed right after being transcribed and reviewed.

Data Analysis. In order to make sense of the gathering of transcripts and children's artifacts, I organized all data per each participant and each reading activity, and the episodes of each participant. For early analysis, I grouped all data for each reading activity. Then, I

searched for themes that were applicable to the research questions, and organized the data based on different themes. In order to find core themes, I first read my field notes line-by-line more than twenty times until I was able to find no more new ideas, themes, and issues. While reading fieldnotes, I focused on if there were any recurrent patterns of activities in a both formal and informal setting. Reading fieldnotes many times as a whole worked significantly for me to interpret data because reviewing the completed set of notes helped me to capture some important changes in the field over time, and gain fresh insights to reinterpret certain events.

In addition to fieldnotes and jottings, I read and re-read the transcripts thoroughly to have a broad picture of phenomenon and overall meanings of it. While reading transcripts, I tried to find some recurring themes and ideas, and after reading all transcripts very carefully for more than fifteen times, I was able to find some core themes such as race, gender, culture, prejudice, injustice, fairness, family, segregation, slavery, freedom, and friendship. While investigating themes, I also considered how a selected theme could be related to other themes. If some of the themes were unrelated to each other, it was broken into sub-themes such as racial prejudice and gender prejudice. After I identified some main themes, I sorted the transcripts on the basis of these themes.

Then, I selected four focal literary activities that seemed to best answer my research questions among varied reading events. After deciding the focal activities, I reorganized a series of episodes based on each student. When categorizing each participant's different types of responses to literature, my analysis was also based on Sipe's (2008) perspective such as *analytical, intertextual, personal, transparent, and performative*. Also, I categorized each participant's emotional responses such as anger, disgust, pleased, painful, and resistance. By doing this, I was able to refresh my insights and discover several new issues that were not

detected in previous readings. It also helped me to better understand how a child's responses to the books were changed overtime.

When I interpreted children's social interactions with the teacher and peers, sociolinguistic analysis was adopted. That is, when I interpreted the children's conversations between peers and a teacher, I did not concentrate on single sentences or isolated speech acts because my approach to their languages was based on Bakhtin's (1986) notion of "chain of speech communication." By adopting Bakhtin's notion that language is inherently dialogic, I analyzed the participants' talks in the chain of speech communication. The following table presents the method of data collection and analysis.

Table 11

Data Collection and Analysis

Research Question	Theoretical Base	Method to Answer	Analysis of Data
How do preschool Korean bilingual children respond to social justice literature?	Reader response theory Multicultural literature	Audio- recordings Observational field notes Informal notebook including memos and field jottings	Thematic analysis
What are the roles of the children's "creative participation" in reading social justice literature?	Reader response theory Sociocultural theory	Audio- recordings Observational field notes Informal notebook including memos and field jottings	Thematic analysis Sociolinguistic analysis
How do literary talks help the children to develop their emergent notions of racial diversity and social justice?	Sociocultural theory Multicultural literature	Audio- recordings Open-ended interview with the children, their parents, and teachers and other school officials Children's artifacts Observational field notes Informal notebook including memos and field jottings	Sociolinguistic analysis

In addition, in order to make data more manageable for me, I categorized the children's conversations based on Dyson's (1993) "data analysis categories for event composing" (p. 232): I categorized the children's conversations based on the stance toward others such as appreciative (expression of admiration of another's presentation as an audience member for another), helpful (offering services to someone perceived as needing help), critical (analyzing another's work), and inquisitive (seeking information that she/ he does not have). Through sociolinguistic analysis, I was able to analyze the participants' literary discussions during the focal reading activities within their social contexts.

Validity and trustworthiness. As an effort to verify and validate my data analysis, the constant comparative methods were employed in this study. First, I adopted a "triangulation" method. According to Patton (2002), triangulation means "comparing and cross-checking the consistency of information derived at different times and by different means within qualitative methods" (p. 559). The purpose of triangulating data is to avoid any possible misunderstandings and reduce the potential bias of a single analyst. When I analyzed the data, I checked the consistency of information, comparing several data sets such as my observations in the classroom and interviews with the children's parents and the teacher. Also, what the children said during reading was compared with what they said in an informal interview with me. It was also compared with what their parents' said in interviews. Moreover, I checked the consistency between their oral responses and written responses. While comparing and contrasting different data sets such as interview transcripts and observational field notes, I was able to confirm matches and mismatches of different data sets. By checking consistency of the data through triangulation, I could reduce the potential bias of a single analyst.

In addition, in order to ensure the credibility of the findings, I followed “prolonged engagement” and “persistent observation,” which are often emphasized in a qualitative study (Creswell, 1998). First, I spent a large amount of time at the research site (from October 2010 to May 2012) in order to build close relationship with the participating children and their parents. The extended time with the same children increased their trust in the researcher, and that contributed to the trustworthiness of the data. The extended time also helped me to gain the trust of participating children’s parents. This was particularly important because their trust of the researcher and the project increased the credibility of their interview data.

Also, in order to avoid the biased interpretation, I shared my analysis with some people in my department whose expertise is language and literacy instruction through informal academic meetings. If our discussion reached consensus, it often enhanced my interpretations. While exchanging different ideas, I was also able to have deeper data analysis because that provided me with alternative interpretations. In addition, to increase the trustworthiness of the interview data, my translation was reviewed by some Korean native speakers.

This sub-section discussed how I analyzed the data. Denzin (2001) argues that, in qualitative research, it is crucial to acknowledge the role of a researcher since he/she is also part of what is being studied. Thus, the following section discusses my “social location” (Biklen & Casella, 2007, p. 15) in this study, and what lenses I used when I watched these participating children.

My role as a researcher. Since researchers bring their own values to the case being studied, understanding their “social locations” such as their race, gender, and relation to the participants helps readers to understand data analysis (Stake, 1995). In terms of my background as a researcher, I am a female in my late-thirties of Korean ethnicity. I was born in Seoul, South

Korea, in 1975 and moved to the US in 2005 to pursue my master's degree. My Korean background and eight years in America greatly assisted me in conducting this study. First, as a person who was born and grew up in Korea, I was able to understand the participating children's Korean language and culture. Also, my experiences in the US helped me to understand the children's use of English.

I had been involved in the KLS as a teacher, a researcher, and a volunteer since 2007, and it also provided me with many advantages in conducting this study. First, since I was a formal teacher in the KLS and one of the Korean church members, I could easily access the research site. It also helped me to get permission from the principal to perform the study. Also, because most parents had seen me for a long time at the KLS, they were familiar with me, and it helped me gain their trust.

My relationship with the participants. At the beginning of my observation in 2010, I was very careful about watching the children because they seemed uncomfortable about my presence in the classroom. Thus, I was often seated behind the children so that they would not be able to notice that I was watching them. However, this problem diminished as my rapport with them over time. As I tried to reduce my authority over the children and talk with them more frequently during breaks, I was able to gain a close bond with them.

As we became closer, the children did not even pay attention to my existence in the classroom. Because I did not need to be outside of their line of vision, I started to sit next to the teacher during Story Time to better observe the children's facial expressions and their gestures. Through my close relationship with the children, I was able to gain access to their social contexts in a more natural setting.

However, my intimate relationship with the children also caused me an ethical problem. For instance, because some participating children at Ms. Park's classroom had seen me at the KLS for four semesters, they considered me as a faithful teacher's aide. Thus, they often called me 선생님[a teacher] and asked me questions whenever they needed some help. Since I had a continual responsibility to help them, I sometimes tried to create some distance between us.

Also, while I was observing the children closely, they were also observing me, and it gave me some challenging moments. For example, in each class, I created my observational notes about what I saw, and it made some children curious about what I kept jotting down. One day, Jimmy asked me several times about what I was writing in my notebook. Being embarrassed, I answered that I was just writing down important Korean words we had learned that day, but he insisted I share them with him. Since then, I had been somewhat uncomfortable when taking copious notes.

In addition, although I tried to hide my tape recorder, some children noticed that I was recording something. For example, Sue noticed I was recording their conversations, and she asked me what I was doing it for. I explained that I was recording their voices because of their excellent language skills, but she started teasing me, saying "I am not allow you to do that" in a playful way. That made me more careful when I recorded their voices.

Another time I was embarrassed was when some children seemed to notice I was investigating something related to skin colors in the classroom. One day during snack break, I tried to ask some questions to Jimmy about his views on black people, and Jimmy said, "You always talk about black stuffs." After that, when I wanted to ask the children any race-related questions, I intentionally included some questions that were not relevant to racial issues.

Collaboration with the teacher. Johnston-Parsons (2010) argues that collaboration has much value because people learn *with* others and *from* others. Throughout the study, I worked with Ms. Park, and it provided many benefits. As indicated earlier, Ms. Park did not have any experience in teaching young children in Korea because she taught ceramics to older students and adults in Seoul. She was also not a veteran teacher at the KLS, as she joined the KLS only one year ago. Moreover, she had very limited experience in reading multicultural literature, especially in preschool children's contexts.

Given this context, our collaboration provided many benefits in conducting this study. First, it helped us select twelve valuable social justice books for young children. Because Ms. Park was uninformed regarding multicultural literature, published both in the U.S. and Korea, I suggested potential books to her based on my initial search. Then, by sharing our opinions about each one, we were able to select more valuable books. This process also assisted us in choosing a more suitable book for each following week.

Also, we developed the thought-provoking questions together. Due to her limited experience in teaching reading, Ms. Park was not confident in how she could encourage student responses. She often expressed her worry about what kinds of questions she needed to ask to stimulate the students' background knowledge while reading books with them. Therefore, we developed some thought-provoking questions together in advance. We developed questions specific to each text, which helped to initiate discussions about diverse social justice issues and encourage dynamic literary discussions in the classroom. It also provided the students with an opportunity to develop their own interpretations, question their initial understandings, and raise new questions. We developed questions based on before/during/after reading, and those

included (1) how they felt about the main character, (2) what they would do if they were in the character's situation, and (3) what the story was about.

Moreover, the collaborative work with Ms. Park helped me to avoid simplistic perspectives when I analyzed data. Ms. Park and I often had casual dialogues after class about the children's reading times, and these conversations provided me with deeper insights of the phenomena. For instance, when I found her opinions were similar to mine, it enhanced my interpretations. Also, if she had different perspectives, it helped me to diversify my views with alternative interpretations.

Lastly, our collaboration was beneficial in terms of more effective management of Story Time. For example, if the teacher explained new Korean words such as 인종 [race] and 자유 [freedom], I wrote them on the white board. With my help, the teacher and students were able to focus on their discussions about new terms. Overall, our collaboration made our complex tasks more manageable, diversify my views with alternative interpretations, and stimulated new ideas.

Summary

In this chapter, I discussed research methodologies including why I chose a qualitative case study, how I collected the data, and how I analyzed them: the data sources I used were (1) audio- recordings, (2) open-ended interviews with the children, their parents, the teacher, and the school official, (3) children's artifacts, (4) observational field notes, and (5) an informal notebook including memos and field jottings. These different data sources helped me to have a holistic picture of the phenomena. The collected data were analyzed based on thematic analysis and sociocultural analysis. In order to increase the trustworthiness of the study, I adopted

triangulation of sources, prolonged engagement, and persistent observation. This chapter also discussed my role as a participant observer, my relationship with the participants, and collaboration with the teacher. The next chapter explores what I found by analyzing different data sets.

Chapter 4

Literary Experiences, Peer Relationships, School Demographics, and Parents' Racial Attitudes of Each Participant

Introduction

Through this dissertation study, I explored how Korean bilingual children responded to literature with race and social justice themes, and how their literary talks helped them to develop their early understandings about social justice and racial differences. Before discussing the children's responses to social justice literature, this chapter focuses on the children's literary experiences inside and outside the KLS, peer relationships, their school demographics, and parents' racial attitudes toward African Americans. By investigating these issues, this chapter aims to have an in-depth understanding of the participating children's literature-related experiences and their socio-cultural backgrounds.

The first section starts by explaining the participating children's literary involvements at home and their reading habits and attitudes in Ms. Park's classroom. The second section discusses participating children's peer relationships, and this will help to better understand how the children's responses were shaped within their social contexts. Also, the last sub-section explores the racial demographics of their mainstream schools, and their parents' racial attitudes toward African Americans in order to deepen the understanding of the children's responses to black characters.

Participants' Literary Experiences and Reading Habits

Different children have different experiences of reading. Since the children's different experiences could influence their responses to the books (e.g. Langer, 1992; Rosenblatt, 1978), it is important to be aware of each child's different literary experiences outside the KLS. The first sub-section provides information about each child's literature-related experiences at home.

Each child's literature-related experiences outside the KLS. In order to understand the children's literature-related experiences outside the KLS, I interviewed the parents of participating children, and that helped me to glimpse into the children's reading-related experiences at home. The following sub-sections present the details of each child's literary experiences.

Grace. According to her mother, Grace likes reading regardless of the genre of books. She particularly likes princess stories, and rarely reads science books:

Researcher: Grace 는 책 읽는거 좋아해요? [Does Grace like to read books?]

Grace's mother: 예. 책 읽는거 좋아해요. 장르는 과학이나 그런쪽만 안좋아하는 편이구 대체적으로 다 좋아하는 편이에요. 명작, 창작, 전래까지두.
[Yes. She likes reading. She likes to read every genre of the book including classic stories, traditional fairy tales, and creative stories, just except science books.]

Since Grace likes to read books with her mother, Grace's mother used to read books to her almost every day. Yet, after Grace's mother started her master's degree in a nearby school in 2010, she was not able to read books to Grace as often as she used to due to her busy school work. Like Grace's mother, Grace's father also indicated that he tried to read books to Grace as often as possible. However, he rarely read books to Grace (he scaled the frequency as 2 out of 10) because he spent most of his time working at school, and Grace preferred to read books with her mother.

Although both Grace's mother and father did not read books to Grace on a daily basis, they still firmly believed the benefits of reading literature.

Researcher: 책을 읽는것에 대해 어떻게 생각해요? [What do you think of reading books to young children?]

Grace's mother: 굉장히 중요하다고 생각해요. 저는 육아서나 그런것도 많이 보는 편인데, 그중에 미국에서도 되게 유명한 책이었는데 하루에 15분 책읽기 머 그런책이 있는데, 미국에 누가 쓴걸 한국어로 번역해서 출판된 책인데..그 책에도 보니까 하루에 15분씩 책을 읽은 아이에 미래에.. 아물든 독서량을 강조하는 책이었는데 그래서 저는 되게 중요하다고 생각해요. [I think that reading books (to my children) is very important. For me, I often read books related to infant care. Particularly, I remember a book, written by an American writer and translated to Korean, which emphasizes the importance of reading books to young children on the daily basis. It says that reading books with children at least fifteen minutes a day will have tremendous effects on children's future... Anyway, I think that reading books to children is very important.]

In the excerpt above, Grace's mother exhibited her strong belief on the importance of reading books to her children on the daily basis. However, both Grace's mother and father stated that they had never had a chance to read Grace social justice literature dealing with racial or cultural diversity. As for the reason, Grace's father stated as follows:

Grace's father: 책은 보통 저희는 Grace가 원하는책을 읽어주거든요. 여기 도서관에서 책을 빌리는데 Grace가 원하는책을 가져가는데 그럼 자기에게 맞는 걸 빌리니까. 그림보고 맘에 드는거 뭐.. 인종에 관한건 절대 안고르겠쥬. [We usually read the books Grace wants to read. We often checked out books from the libraries nearby our house, and Grace chose the books that she liked to read based on illustrations. That provided zero possibility to choose the books dealing with race-related issues.]

Graces' father indicates that he had never had a chance to read Grace social justice books because he selected books based on Grace's own choice. Grace's mother also demonstrated that she had never read social justice books to Grace because (1) there were very limited Korean books dealing with race or diversity issues, and (2) they believed that Grace is still too young to

understand these difficult issues. Whenever Grace's mother found some time to read Grace books, she usually read Korean books that she had at her home, especially books about Korean culture and Korean traditional games such as Jae-ki-cha-gi and yoot-no-ri. As for the reason why she focused on reading Korean books, she indicated that it was because (1) she believed the importance of teaching Grace her origin as a Korean, (2) it is highly possible that they would go back to Korea in the future, and (3) she felt uncomfortable in reading English books to Grace. Yet, although she had never read Grace social justice books, she still presented her positive views about reading social justice literature to young children.

Jimmy. According to Jimmy, he is not interested in reading except for science books. He does not like reading because reading words, regardless of languages, was not intriguing for him. He indicated that he liked reading only when somebody read him books that looked interesting to him. However, when he read science books, he did not mind reading by himself because he liked to see the photos of some strange or creepy insects in books. The following interview presents his book preference (while I was having an interview with Jimmy's mother, Jimmy came into the room and joined the conversation).

Researcher: Jimmy 는 어떤 책 주로 좋아하나요? [What kind of books does Jimmy like?]

Jimmy's mother: 글썄.. 엄마가 읽어주는건 다 좋아하니까. [Well... He likes every book that mom reads to him.]

Jimmy: 아난데. [That's not true.]

Jimmy's mother: (to Jimmy) 어떤 책 좋아하는데? [What kind of books do you like?]

Jimmy: 어.. 저거.. 음.. 저거.. science book 같은거. [Well.. that is.. umm.. something like a science book.]

Jimmy's mother: (to researcher) Jimmy 는 약간 특이한거 도깨비이야기 그런거 좋아해요. 소리가 특이하거나.. 만약에 도깨비가 어떤애를 데려갔는데 왜 데려 갔을까요.. 도깨비가 꺾당 넘어졌어요 할때 그

“과당”이 재미있는 머 그런거. [Jimmy likes unique stories such as Ogre. For example, an Ogre brings a boy to somewhere, or an Ogre slipped and fell hard. He seems to like the sound “bang.”]

In the interview, Jimmy’s mother indicated that Jimmy likes to read unique stories such as Ogre with a horn (a traditional cut ghost character in the Korean folk tale). She also informed me that, since Jimmy liked to read books with her, she tried to read him books before he went to bed, but it rarely happened due to her demanding work at home. When Jimmy’s mother found some time to read books to Jimmy, she often read him Korean books at her home, regardless of genre. Also, she had never read English books to him due to her limited English skill. She also informed me that, although her choice of book was totally unplanned, she usually chose science books, particularly books about insects and dinosaurs because of Jimmy’s preference for those stories. Also, she had no chance to read social justice literature to Jimmy because she did not have those kinds of books at home, and she herself cared less about multicultural issues. However, like Grace’s mother, she exhibited her positive views toward reading those books to children.

Researcher: 다양한 인종에 대한 책을 읽어주고 그런거는 어떻게 생각하세요?
[What do you think about reading multicultural books to children?]

Jimmy’s mother: 그런거는 괜찮은거 같아요. 단지 그런걸 아이들이 이해할 수
있을까요.. 이해만 한다면야 도움이 되겠죠 [That might be good.
But, I am just not sure if young children can understand those issues. If
they understand (those difficult issues), it might be helpful.]

In the interview above, Jimmy’s mother showed her positive views about reading young children social justice literature, but she also worried whether young children could understand difficult social issues.

Katie. Compared to the other children, Katie had unique reading experiences at home. According to the interview with Katie's mother, both Katie's mother and father had never read books to Katie.

Researcher: 책을 자주 읽어주시는 편인가요? [Do you often read books to Katie?]

Katie's mother: (smiles embarrassingly) 그렇지 않아요. [No, not at all.]

Researcher: 그럼 대충 얼마나 자주.. 한달에 한번이라든가.. [Then, just roughly, how often do you read books to her such as once a month or..]

Katie's mother: (pondering for a while) Katie 가 사실 오빠가 있어서 책을 읽어줄일이 있으면 오빠가 읽어줘요. [In fact, Katie has an older brother so, whenever needed, he always reads books to her.]

Researcher: 그럼 어머니나 아버님은 전혀 읽어주신적이 없으신가요? [Then, does it mean that you and Katie's father have never read books to her?]

Katie's mother: 그런거 같아요. 사실 큰애가 글을 굉장히 빨리 읽었어요. 3 살 반부터 한국어 영어 금방다 읽어가지구 Katie 이가 책을 읽어줄 나이가 됐을때에는 큰애가 충분히 케어가 되는 나이어서 모든 케어는 다 큰애한테 맡기고 있는 중이에요. [I guess so. In fact, her brother started to read books from a very early age. When he was three and half years old, he was able to read both Korean and English. So, by the time we should read books to Katie, he was already able to take care his little sister. So, we placed the responsibility for caring Katie on her brother.]

Researcher: 그럼 아버님도 안읽어주시는 편인가요? [Then, does Katie's father also rarely read books to her?]

Katie's mother: 그렇죠. 공부하고 바빴죠. [Yes. He was too busy in studying.]

While all participating children's parents indicated that they tried to read books to their children as much as possible, Katie's mother stated that she had never read books to Katie because (1) Katie's brother often took care of her, and (2) Katie was able to read English books from an early age by herself. Her mother also informed me that Katie read only English books because she was not yet skillful in reading Korean books. When I asked if there was any specific

reason for Katie's mother's unavailability to read books to her, she indicated that it was simply because she was too busy in taking care of Katie's brother.

With regards to the book selection, Katie's mother stated that, although she was not certain what kinds of books Katie's brother usually read to Katie, it is highly possible that he had never had a chance to read her social justice literature because Katie's brother himself seemed not interested in reading those books. However, when I asked the mother's view about reading social justice literature to young children, she indicated that it would be advantageous to read children books dealing with race and diversity issues, although Katie is too young to understand those difficult issues.

Researcher: 인종문제를 다룬 책을 어린 아이들에게 읽어주는 것에 대해서는 어떻게 생각하세요? [What do you think of reading literature dealing with racial issues to young children?]

Katie's mother: 좋을거 같아요. 근데 아직 그런 책읽기에는 Katie가 너무 어리지 않을지. [It must be good, although Katie might be too young to understand those books.]

In terms of Katie's favorite books, her mother seemed to have difficulty in answering it due to her lack of experiences of reading books to Katie. Yet, after a while, she answered as follows:

Katie's mother: 음.. 좋아하는 책은 있었던 같아요. 잠깐 생각좀 해보구요... (thinking for a while) 우선 영어이름이 되게 흔한 편이라서 자기 이름이 나오는 책을 좋아하구요. 표지가 핑크. 표지가 자기가 좋아하는색. 내용은?.. 좋아하는게 있었던거 같아요.. 대충 예제좀 들어줄래요? [Umm.. I think that there were some books Katie especially liked. Umm.. let me think.... First, she liked the books whose main character's name is the same with hers (English name). Also, pink cover! She liked the books whose cover is pink. In term of the content of books.. umm.. she seemed to like.... (after a while) Can you give some rough examples?]

- Researcher: 예를들어 전래동화, 아니면 신데렐라 스토리라든가 아니면 과학동화라는가.. [For example, folk tale stories.. Cinderella stories or science books or..]
- Katie's mother: 뭐하나 하면 그거 몇번씩 읽고 끼고 다닌다든가 그런책이 있긴해요. 그내용이 특별히 신데렐라의 그런건 아니구.. 아.. 그내용이 친구와 관련된 그런내용이었던거 같아요 friendship 같은거. Brother and sister, baby brother 머 그런식으로 좀 현실적인 동화. 우정에 관한 이야기나 형제에 관련된 이야기나 이렇게 사람들과 interactive 가 있는 이야기들을 좋아했던거 같아요. 스토리가 장황한거 보다 자잘한 얘기를 잔잔하게 길게 쓴 얘기 있잖아요. 사람 감정에 관한 이야기들. 누구랑 싸웠다가 다시 화해했다가.. 그런 현실적인 이야기들에 관심이 많은거 같아요. [There were some books that she especially liked. I remember that she read the same books several times and carried them all the time, but those stories were not necessarily about Cinderella kinds of things. Ah! I remember! Those stories were about friends or friendships or something realistic, such as stories about brothers and sisters, or baby brothers. It seemed that she liked stories that describe interactions among people and friendships, so something subtle and calm, rather than fancy and diffuse. I think that she liked stories focusing on people's emotions such as two people fight each other, and they reconcile later.. you know, stories like that. I think that she is interested in those kinds of realistic stories.]

Katie's mother indicated that Katie likes realistic stories that can happen in a real life such as friendships or human relationship.

Sam. According to Sam's mother, Sam was interested in reading books regardless of genre, but he especially liked Korean folk stories (e.g. Ogre stories). Sam's mother read him books before he went to bed almost every day because he liked to read a bedtime story. As for the selection of books, Sam's mother stated that she read only Korean books because reading Korean books was almost the only chance for Sam to learn the Korean language at home.

- Sam's mother: 제가 읽어주는 건 한국책만 읽어줘요. 한국말을 배울기회는 여기서는 한글학교 말구는 없으니까. 친구들하고 대화도 이제 점점 영어로 하니까 우리집에서는 완전 한국말만 하고 영어는 못하게 하고. 그래서 샘이 한국말을 잘하는거 같아요. 다른 애들은 영어 주로 쓰는데 샘은 영어 한국말 많이 섞어서 쓰고. [I only read Sam Korean books because that is the only chance for Sam

to learn the Korean language except the KLS. As Sam starts to use English when talking with his peers, we allowed him to speak only Korean at home. I think that that is why Sam's Korean is good. Other children usually use English but he mixes Korean and English a lot.]

Sam's mother also emphasized the importance of a bedtime reading to improve his Korean skills. However, she also pointed out some challenges about it.

Researcher: 그럼 주로 언제 읽어주시나요? [When do you usually read books to him?]

Sam's mother: 잘 때 항상 책 읽어줘요. 샘이 책읽는거를 워낙에 좋아해서. 근데 꼭 항상 잘때 읽어달래 (laugh). 근데 애가 항상 늦는거예요. 그럼 나는 빨리 불끄고 잠들어야 되는데 책읽어준다 하면 그제서야 이제 딱 누워서 잘 준비하는데 될수 있으면 읽어줄려고 하죠. [I always read books to him before he went to bed because he really likes to read books at that time. But, the problem is that he always asked me to read late, although I wanted to go to bed early. Yet, I still try to read him books every day.]

In terms of social justice literature, Sam's mother indicated that, although she acknowledged the importance of reading a variety of books, she had never read social justice books to Sam because of Sam's young age to understand multi-ethnic issues. However, like other participating mothers, she still had positive views on teaching multicultural or multi-ethnic issues to children, especially to older children.

Sam's mother: 아직 어려서 이해할 지는 모르겠지만 그런책을 읽어주는건 좋은거 같아요. [Although (Sam) is too young to understand (those issues), I think that reading those books to children, especially older graders, would be good.]

Another noticeable thing about Sam's reading-related experiences outside the KLS was that, while most mothers indicated that they rarely asked questions of their children before/during/after reading, Sam's mother stated that she tried to ask him some questions after reading.

Sam's mother: 근데 retelling 이 잘 안되는거 같아요 책읽으면서. 잘 묻지는 않았는데 근데 어떻게 retelling 을 유도해야되는지 잘 모르겠어요.

그래서 책 읽어줄때 그냥 읽어주고 끝이었어요. 그런데 예전에 한번 책 읽어주고 뒤에 질문 같은게 있어서 물었는데 곧잘 대답은 했어요. 그래서 애가 잘 듣고 있다 이래 생각했는데 요번에 컨퍼런스 있어서 갔는데 *retelling* 하라 그래서. 근데 처음은 아는데 앤드 스킵리를 모르더라구요. 집중을 안해서 그런건지.. [For Sam, “retelling” didn’t work well. I was actually not sure how I could encourage him to respond to books. So, when I read him books, I used to simply read books to him without talking about the story we read. But, one day, I happened to find some possible questions after reading at the back of the book, so I asked them to him. He seemed ok to answer those questions. So, I thought he is ok at “retelling” the story but I am not sure. In fact, I started to pay more attention to “retelling” issue after going to a conference that emphasized the importance of it. Sam seemed to remember the first part of the story but he did not remember the end of the story. I think that it might be because he doesn’t pay attention while he read.]

In the interview above, Sam’s mother indicated that, although she acknowledged the importance of “retelling, it often did not work well for her.

Sue. In the casual conversation with Sue, she indicated that reading was her favorite thing to do. She also informed me that she likes any kind of books in any situation such as by herself and with her mother. With her affection for reading, Sue was one of the most active children in responding to books at Ms. Park’s classroom. Sue’s mother indicated that Sue was always active in responding to books, and she sometimes wished that Sue would make fewer comments because, with her many comments, it usually takes longer time to read a book. Sue’s mother also informed me that she tried to read books to Sue on a regular basis, but it rarely happened because of her busy schedule at school. When she was available, she usually read Sue Korean books that she possessed at home, and her book selection was very random. She sometimes checked out English books that Sue wanted to read from the local libraries but she had never read them to Sue due to a language issue. In terms of social justice books, Sue’s mother indicated that she had never read those books to her because there were very limited books dealing with multicultural and multi-racial issues written in Korean.

Young. Young indicated that he likes reading, especially books about dinosaurs. Young's mother also informed me that Young liked to read all kinds of books. However, Young's book preference varied depending on his different interests: he used to like the book *Magic School Bus* series but his recent favorite was Pok émon. He also liked to read science books published by 달팽이 과학나라 [A Snail Science World] in Korea.

While most participating children had only Korean books at their homes, Young had abundant resources of reading at home in both languages, and Young's mother usually read Young books written in either Korean or English. Also, Young's mother often talked about the stories with Young while reading. When she read English books, she read them in English but, when discussing the story of books, she usually talked in Korean because she was not confident in speaking English. Young's mother indicated that Young was very active in responding to books while reading, and his frequent comments made their reading more enjoyable.

Young's mother: 애 둘을 키우는데 Young 은 되게 반응이 좋은편이에요. 자기가 생각하는거를 그냥 말해요. 되게 표현하는 스타일이에요. 그니까 같이 얘기하다보며는 재미있죠. 저도. 그니까 애도 자꾸 말하구. [I have two children, and Young is very good at expressing his thoughts (while reading). He just says what he is thinking about. So, while reading with him, I also have fun, and it makes him to talk more.]

Young's mother read him a variety of books regardless of genres. As for the selection of books, she usually read the book Young chose at her home or at the local libraries. Also, since Young particularly likes reading books before he went to bed, she read him a bedtime story almost every day.

When I asked Young's mother if she had a chance to read Young social justice literature, she provided different answers depending on the time I asked: when the question was asked at the beginning of the semester (February, 2012), she answered negatively:

Researcher: 혹시 racial issue 에 대해 다룬책, 머 African American 이 나온다는가 그런건 안읽어 주시는 편인가요? [Have you ever read Young literature dealing with racial issues or books depicting African American people/culture?]

Young's mother: 그런책은 못접한거 같아요. 한국에 나온책중에서는 그런책은 못봤구 영어책들은 그런게 있긴한데 그거를 제가 일부러 고르지 않으면 아이가 특별히 읽을일이 없으니까. [I am afraid not. I had never seen those kinds of books published in Korea. Among English books, I remember I saw some books before, but I have not had a chance to read those books to Young because he had never chosen those books.]

Researcher: 그럼 한번도 읽어주신적이 없는건가요? [So, it sounded like you had never read those books.]

Young' mother: 없는거 같아요. [I am afraid not.]

As for the reason Young's mother had never read the multicultural books, particularly books with African American people as main characters, she indicated that one of the primary reasons was because it was hard to obtain Korean books dealing with multi-ethnic, multicultural, and multi-racial issues.

Researcher: 안읽어주시는데는 어떤 특별한 이유가 있으신가요? [Is there any specific reason for not reading literature dealing with multi-racial issues to Young?]

Young's mother: 흑인이나 유색인종이나 그런 다양한 책들도 읽어주고는 싶은데 근데 제가 보니까 그런책이 거의 한국 말로 나온게 없고 특히 미국에서는 구하기가 힘들더라구요. 그래서 그냥 다른 영어로 된 책 읽어줘요. [I want to read Young diverse books including the books about black people or people of color but I have never seen books dealing with those issues written in Korean. So, I just read other types of books.]

However, when I conducted the interview again at the end of the study (May, 2012), she informed me that she started to read Young books dealing with race themes as Young chose those books at the libraries.

Researcher: 요즘 혹시 다문화 관한책들을 읽어주세요? [Have you ever read any social justice books these days by any chance?]

Young's mother: 네 같이 읽어요. 저두 한두번 해봤어요. 보통 자기전에 책을 읽으려고 하거든요. 특별히 제가 흑인이나 유색인종이나 그런책을 고르지는 않죠. 근데 주로 Young 이 고르는걸 읽으니까.. [Yes. I tried it just a couple of times before Young went to bed. Although I do not particularly pick up books about people of color, Young started to choose those books, so I read them.]

Although Young's mother indicated that she did not frequently read multicultural books to Young, she had positive views about teaching multi-racial issues to young children by using social justice literature. She stated that she believed that it would be beneficial to teach children diverse culture and people, and reading social justice books could be helpful for this goal.

Researcher: 이렇게 인종 문제나 slavery 와 같은 painful 한 역사에 관한 것들을 아이들에게 알려주는게 좋다고 생각하세요? [Do you think that it is good to teach young children multi-racial issues including the painful history such as slavery?]

Young's mother: 저는 그게 사실이고 역사라고 생각하니까 알려주는거 좋다고 생각해요. 왜 마루틴 루터 킹 주니어 벌스데이라고 애들 막 놓고 그러잖아요. 왜 학교가 노는지 그사람이 누군지 애들이 알면 좋으니까. 그런 것들에 대한 책 있으면 같이 읽어주고 그러면 좋을거 같아요. 옛날에는 흑인이 백인이랑 같이 버스도 못타고 버스타갈때 백인이 타면 흑인이 자리비켜줘야 된다고 책을 읽다보면 이제 그런게 나오니까. [It must be good because I believe that that is the part of the history. As you know, many schools are closed for classes on Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday. I think that it would be better if the children know who he is and why their schools are closed on that day. So, I think that reading books dealing with those issues with young children could provide them with a chance to learn some historical incidents... such as white and black people were not allowed to seat together.]

The following table summarizes children's reading experiences outside the KLS such as their favorite genre of books, languages of books that they often read at home, a bedtime reading, and experiences related to multicultural literature.

Table 12

Children's Reading Experiences outside the KLS

Name	Favorite Stories	Language of Books at Home	Bedtime Reading	Reading Multicultural Literature
Young	Books about dinosaurs	Korean & English	Almost every day	Very few times
Jimmy	Science books or Ogre stories	Korean	Rarely	Never
Sam	Stories about Ogre	Korean	Almost every day	Never
Sue	Every genre	Korean	Sometimes	Never
Grace	Stories about princess and prince	Korean	Sometimes	Never
Katie	Stories about friendships or family	English	Never	Never

This section discussed the children's reading-related experiences at home. The following sub-section provides a brief description of each participating child's reading habits and attitudes at Ms. Park's classroom.

Each child's reading habits at Ms. Park's classroom. Each child had different habits and attitudes toward reading during Story Time. First, Grace usually seemed to be engaged in reading. Yet, while reading, she often did not express her thoughts or opinions in public. Since she was usually silent while reading, I sometimes asked questions after reading when she was alone, but she often avoided answering my questions. Another noticeable feature about Grace's reading habit was that she seemed to be bothered by her peers' and the teacher's frequent comments while reading. She often made a frowning face when any student made repeated comments to books. In addition, when the teacher tried to explain the book frequently, she sometimes asked the teacher to just keep reading without describing the stories.

As for Jimmy's reading attitudes in Ms. Park's classroom, Jimmy seemed to be uninterested in reading books, particularly books that depicted African American people/culture. With his disinterest in reading those kinds of books, he was usually the last one to find the seat, and if he was not satisfied with the seat, he often complained about it. He also asked the teacher to read science books from time to time. Although he seemed not to be interested in reading social justice books, once he found a story interesting, he actively responded to the books with a loud voice.

Like Jimmy, Katie also seemed less interested in reading books compared to the other children. She usually paid less attention to reading. She was also easily distracted, especially when the story was not interesting to her. However, if she liked the stories, she actively responded to the books and asked some questions to the teacher. Her questions sometimes initiated active discussions among the children.

Sam seemed to like reading, but if the stories were not interesting to him, he was often distracted, playing with his fingers. He also rarely made any comments to the books. However, he sometimes made some responses to the books with a quiet voice if he was engaged in reading, and somebody brought up some issues that sounded interesting to him.

Sue was the most active student in responding to the books in Ms. Park's classroom. She seemed to enjoy every book and be engaged in most stories while reading. She sometimes expressed her desire to choose her own books at the small library at the KLS but Ms. Park allowed her to do it after class. Her frequent comments sometimes seemed to bother some of her peers. For example, although Grace had never expressed her uncomfortable feeling to Sue in a direct way, she often made a frowning face if Sue made too many comments. Also, some children seemed to especially be annoyed when Sue attempted to read the books aloud along

with the teacher. The teacher also tried to stop her if Sue showed that behavior. Although Sue's frequent responses occasionally bothered the flow of story, when Sue made any comments on the books, Ms. Park usually listened to Sue's responses until she finished her words.

As for Young's reading habits at the KLS, Young was very active in reading the books. He usually tried to find a front seat in each reading session. In addition, he often exhibited his outstanding knowledge in many different fields while reading. For example, when they had a discussion about presidents, he named many prior presidents in the US including the current president, Barack Obama. Also, if the teacher asked some questions while reading, he enthusiastically expressed his thoughts. Although there were some books that he seemed to be less interested in, most times, he rarely showed his strong resistance to reading certain books.

In sum, each participating child had different reading habits and attitudes in Ms. Park's classroom. Also, most participating children's mothers read a bedtime story to the children, and when they read books to their children, most of them read books written in Korean. No parents had a chance to read social justice literature to their children except Young's mother, because (1) they believed that their children are too young to deal with multicultural or racial issues, and (2) it is hard to acquire social justice books written in Korean in the US. However, all participating mothers exhibited their positive views about teaching social justice or multicultural/multi-ethnic issues to young children, particularly to older students. The next section discusses the children's peer relationships in Ms. Park's classroom.

The Participating Children's Peer Relationships

In order to capture the complexity of children's literary responses within their social contexts, it is important to be aware of the children's peer relationships. My longitudinal

observation of the same children for nineteen months helped me understand their complicated peer relationships at the KLS. This section describes the children's peer relationship, focusing on (1) girl's relationships with the boys, (2) girls' relationships, and (3) boys' relationships in Ms. Park's classroom.

Girl's relationships with boys. While observing the children's peer relationship between boys and girls in Spring 2012, I was not able to observe a specific tension between them. However, the tension was often observed in the previous semester. In Fall 2011, the girls usually played with the girls while boys played with the boys. Particularly, a girl-boy pair was rarely observed. For example, Sue used to separate boys from her "girl's" group (note: Katie was not in the same class with Sue and Grace in Fall 2011), and this behavior sometimes irritated the boys. The following excerpt is the example of this occurred in October 2011 during snack time while the teacher was absent:

- Researcher: (to Sue) Sue birthday party 있어? [So, do you have a birthday party?]
- Sue: Yeah. But it is only for girls 'cause it is a pajama birthday party without girls. I mean with girls and without boys.
- Researcher: 그럼 boy 는 초대 안할거야? [So, you mean that you are not going to invite boys to your party?]
- Sue: Yeah. I am not gonna invite EVEN three of these boys. (Pointing at each child's face with a firm voice) I am not gonna invite You, You and You!
- Jimmy: (speaking very fast with a loud voice) I don't care, I don't care, I don't care~~ You are so MEAN *****!!
- Sue: (speaking fast) I don't hear you because you speak so fast!
- Young: (to Sue) I can't hear you 'cause you speak so fast.
- Sue: (shaking her head) I can't hear you! I can't hear you!
- Young: (with a small voice) I can't hear you 'cause I speak only Korean.

Sue: (to Young) So?

Young: So, you know, ** without understanding..

Sue: (slow and firm voice) I can't tell that!

Grace: (to Young) 왜 영어 말해? [Why do you speak English?]

Young: (murmuring)

Grace: 그러면 니가 지금 왜 영어하고 있어? [Then, why are you speaking English now?]

Sue: (to Grace) Just ignore them!

Grace: (to boys) 왜 지금 영어 하고 있어? (pointing each boys) 왜 애도 영어하고 왜 애도 영어해? 영어할 수 있잖아. [Why are you speaking English? Why do You speak English, and You speak English? You guys can speak English.]

Sue: (to Young) You said you don't know it.. you said you don't understand English but** how can you speak English?

Grace: Yeap!

Young: You know what? I have a friend who knows Korean but he can't talk Korean.

Sue: So?

Grace: So what?

Young: I don't care.

Sue: And boys ALWAYS have 설사 [diarrhea], you know.

(Some children laugh)

Jimmy: (with an angry face and a loud voice) No! EVERYBODY can have 설사 [diarrhea]

Sue: So?

Young: Girls have MORE 설사[diarrhea].

Sam: But my sister is 8 years old!

(Sue grabs Sam's pencil case)

Sue: (giving Sam's pencil case to Grace) Let's take it away from Sam.

Grace: (receiving Sam's pencil case from Sue)

Sue: (to Grace) Put it on the ground! Put it on the ground!

Researcher: (to Sue and Grace) 어 그러면 안돼지. [No, You can't do that.]

Jimmy: (to the girls) STOP!!!!

Researcher: (to Grace) Sam한테 줘. [Give it back to Sam.]

Young: (with a small voice) You will be a robber when you grow up!

Sue: (murmuring)

Young: (with a louder voice) You might be a robber when you grow up! If you stealing. You know that?

Sue: ...

Young: If you keep stealing, then you might like to be a.. you might like to steal.. and might be a robber.

Jimmy: Yeap!!!!

Sue: (after for a while) Who cares?

Sam: (to Sue) I gonna punch you on the face!

Researcher: (to Sam) 어. 그렇게 말하면 안돼지. 엄마한테 일러야겠다. [No. You can't say that! I will tell that to your mother.]

Grace: (to Sam) Hey! That is mean!!!

Young: (to Sue with a loud voice) You said mean yours. Sue! You!

Sue: But.. I..

(Note: Unclear parts were indicated as **)

In the excerpt above, Sue stated that she would not invite three boys for her birthday party, pointing at each boy's faces. With Sue's behavior, Jimmy expressed uncomfortable feelings, speaking very fast, and Young joined the conversation. As Sue expressed her inability to understand their words, in order to defend his situation, Young tried to use his bilingual ability,

indicating that he could speak only Korean. As knowing that Young was able to speak English as well, Grace jumped into the conversation and helped Sue. That caused Sam to join the argument, and Sue ended up making a personal attack on the boys. As their argument became more serious, I inevitably mediated between the two parties.

In addition to the example above, Sue had a habit of whispering to Grace in the previous semester, and this behavior often made the boys annoyed. The following conversation occurred two weeks after the argument above occurred (November, 2011). It happened during playtime, and the teacher was not in the classroom.

- Sam: (to the researcher) Sue 랑 Grace 랑 Young 이랑 같이 싸우고 있어요. [Sue Grace, and Young are fighting.]
- Young: (to the researcher) 근데 Sue 가 secret 을 자꾸 말해요 [But, Sue keeps saying secret!].
- Sue: I am saying ***
- Young: Sue 가 Grace 한테 자꾸 secrete 을 말해요. [Sue keeps saying secret to Grace!]
- Researcher: (to Sue) 그렇게 하면 안돼. [It is not a good attitude.]
- Sue: ^Secrete 아니예요. [No! (It is) not a secret.]
- Young: No! I saw you.
- Jimmy: (with a loud voice) Everybody saw you!
- Sue: ^Secrete 아니예요. [(It is) not a secret.]
- Jimmy: (with a louder voice) Everybody saw you. Everybody!! Everybody!!
- Sam: (to Sue) Everybody saw you!
- Sue:

Like the example above, Sue's behavior that separated the boys often caused the fighting between boys and girls. However, as the semester went on, Sue's whispering behavior was

visibly reduced as her previous teacher and I often said to the children that it is not a positive behavior to make somebody feel isolated.

In Spring 2012, Sue did not whisper to the girls at all, and her attitude toward boys seemed much more amiable than that of previous semester: no argument between the girls and the boys was observed. Also, from the middle of the semester (March 2012), the girls started to play with the boys, and it was especially visible in Grace's case: when Grace was playing by herself, Jimmy often tried to play with her. However, although the tension between boys and girls were reduced, another tension arose among three girls after Katie joined Ms. Park's classroom. The next sub-section elaborates this.

Girls' peer relationships. In Spring 2012, the relationships among Sue, Grace, and Katie seemed very complicated, particularly between Sue and Grace. In order to understand subtle tensions among them, I start by discussing three girls' relationships in the last two years. Grace and Sue had been at the same class at the KLS for two years since Fall 2010. Katie was also at the same class with Grace and Sue in Fall 2010, but after that semester, she did not attend the KLS for a year (Spring 2011, Fall 2011). Then, all three girls met again in Ms. Parks' classroom in Spring 2012. As for their mainstream schools, Grace, Sue and Katie went to the same preschool. However, Grace and Katie went to the same kindergarten while Sue went to a different school. Since Grace and Katie went to the same mainstream school, during this semester, they met each other at both their mainstream schools and the KLS while Sue were able to meet Grace and Katie only at the KLS.

At first glance, all three girls seemed close to each other in Ms. Park's classroom. However, my close observation for a longer period of time helped me to notice subtle tensions among these three girls after Katie joined the classroom. In the previous semester, Grace and

Sue were very close to each other since they were only two female students in the classroom. Grace often played with Sue during break, and always wanted to sit next to Sue each class. If Sue was late to class, Grace often asked the teacher when Sue would come while Sue did not particularly look for Grace. When Grace played with Sue, Sue mostly took the leader role, and Grace usually followed Sue. Also, if Grace found something interesting to her, she usually shared it with Sue.

However, this semester, the relationship between Grace and Sue became somewhat changed as Katie joined Ms. Park's classroom from the second week of the class. When Grace and Katie met each other in Ms. Park's classroom, they looked very delighted, hugging each other while Sue seemed slightly distant from Katie. However, Grace and Sue still played with each other most times. Yet, the three girls' relationships started to change as the semester went on. Grace and Sue still seemed to get along with each other, but they did not seem to close as much as they used to be. For example, Grace did not always want to sit next to Sue, and did not look for Sue if Sue was late or absent. Sue also started to spend more time in playing with Katie. As Sue and Katie became very close, Grace tried to be close to Katie by talking to Katie more frequently. However, as Grace noticed that Katie often wanted to sit next to Sue, it seemed that Grace was sometimes distancing herself from both Sue and Katie.

According to Ms. Park, Sue and Katie started to be very close to each other as Sue tried to help Katie to do her worksheets. As indicated earlier, Katie's Korean literacy skills (e.g. Korean reading and writing) were somewhat behind than those of the other children. However, the level of Sue and Grace's Korean reading and writing skills was similar to each other. For example, while Katie's vocabulary scores were low compared to the other children, both Sue and Grace's vocabulary scores were always high, more than 85%. In this situation, Sue and Grace

often seemed competitive to each other. The following is the example of the children's vocabulary test (Note: Sue's sample is different from others due to her absence on that day):

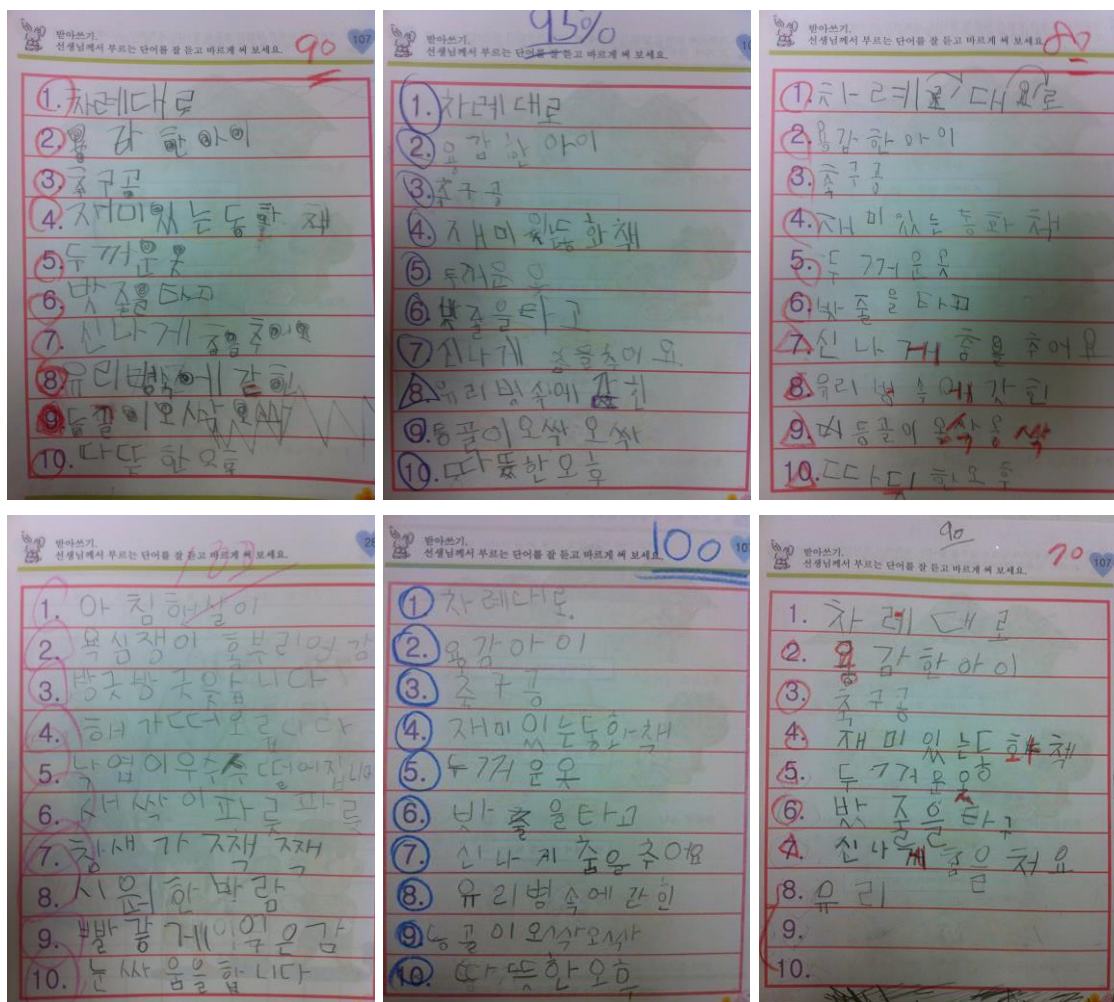


Figure 17. Young, Sam, and Jimmy's (upper from the right), and Sue, Grace, Katie's vocabulary test (lower from the right)

While Grace usually focused on her own works during class, Sue occasionally tried to help Katie if Katie seemed struggled in reading or writing. Although I was not certain if Sue's help affected the relationship between Sue and Katie, I often noticed that Katie's effort to be close to Sue: Katie used to say that Sue is her "twin sister." Also, whenever the teacher tried to pair the children, Katie expressed her desire to be Sue's partner. If she became Sue's partner, she expressed her great joy with a delighted smile. During my observation period, Katie got

along with Sue, and when Katie and Sue played together, Sue often took the leader role. While Katie often expressed her friendly feeling to Sue, Sue showed her affection relatively less than Katie. For instance, she seemed not to care about her seat because she randomly chose it. However, Sue sometimes expressed her close feeling toward Katie by bragging about the fact that she slept over at Katie's house. In addition, when she took a vocabulary test, Sue whispered to me that only Katie was allowed to see her answer; the children usually hid their answers with their folders.

When I explained the girls' triangle relationship to Katie's mother, she answered that Katie might try to be close to Sue due to the following reasons:

- Katie's mother: 그게 재밌는거 같아요. Grace 경우는.. 왜 학교에서 보는 친구는 일상이잖아요. 주말에 보는 친구는 special 하다고 느끼는거 같아요. [I think it is funny. Katie sees Grace as a daily routine (as they went to the same mainstream school). So, I think that Katie feels special toward Sue because Sue is her weekend friend.]
- Researcher: 그럼 원래는 Grace 랑도 많이 친한가요? [Then, are Grace and Katie close to each other in their schools?]
- Katie's mother: 어..... 그런거 같아요. 학교에서는 잘 노는거 같아요. 누구랑 놀았어 그러면 Grace 랑 놀았다 그러구. [Yeah. I think so. It seems that they are getting along well in their schools. When I ask Katie about who she played with at her school, she usually answered she played with Grace.]

As Sue, Katie and Grace's relationships changed, the relationships among their mothers also seemed to change: when Sue was absent from the class, Sue's mother often asked Grace's mother to pick up any missing materials for her but, after Sue and Katie became closer together, Sue's mother asked the same thing to Katie's mother. In the interview with Katie's mother, she indicated that her meeting with Sue's mother had been increased recently, especially during weekends.

Researcher: 요즘 혹시 Sue 랑 따로 자주 보셨나요? [Do you often meet Sue's mother these days?]

Katie's mother: 예 사실 요즘 자주 봤죠. 주말에 사실 큰애가 너무 바빠가지고.. 언니가 집도 가깝고 Sue 가 아무래도 혼자 있으니까 주말에는 언니가 거의 케어 해줘요. 저는 거의 큰애만 챙기고.. [Yes. We meet each other more frequently these days. In fact, Sue's mother takes care of Katie (on weekends) since she lives close to me, and Sue is the only daughter. Also, I am too busy in taking care of Katie's brother on the weekends.. so..]

It seemed that, as Sue and Katie spent more time together, their mothers also became closer. This sub-section discussed girls' complicated peer relationships. While peer relationships among girls were somewhat tense and sensitive, the boys' relationships seemed less complicated. The following sub-section presents the boys' peer relationships.

Boys' peer relationships. Like Sue and Grace, Jimmy and Young had been in the same class for two years at the KLS since Fall 2010: all four children, Sue, Grace, Jimmy, and Young had been classmates at the KLS for two years. Sam joined the KLS in Fall 2011, so these three boys had been in the same class for a year (Fall 2011, Spring 2012). Three boys went to different schools. While the seats seemed an important issue for the girls, Jimmy, Young and Sam seemed as if they did not care where they were seated. Also, during playtime, they played as a group and it was hard to recognize who was the best friend of whom. As Jimmy was one year older than other boys with a bigger build, when the children played together, Jimmy usually took the leader role, but it depended on the situation. Although Jimmy sometimes tried to control other boys, I did not notice any specific tension among the boys about who took the leader role. Sam and Jimmy seemed to be close together but they sometimes argued while playing, and Sam occasionally reported Jimmy's unkind behavior to the teacher. Although the reason for their argument varied based on the situation, most times, they started to play again

after a short time. In addition, I have never observed tension between Young and Jimmy, and Young and Sam during my observation period.

In short, the children had very complicated social relationships as the classroom is a complex social community (Dyson, 1993). The next section discusses racial demographics of participating children's schools and their parents' racial attitudes.

School Demographics and Parents' Racial Attitudes

Each child's school demographics and his/her parents' racial attitudes toward African Americans are also important to have an in-depth understanding of the children's responses to black characters. The first sub-section focuses on the racial demographics of the children's schools.

School demographics. In order to understand the children's school demographics, I conducted the interviews with their parents, mostly mothers. The sub-sections present racial demographics of the children's schools and living areas.

Grace. Grace went to a private school. Grace's father indicated that the racial demographic of Grace's class was white- dominant with a couple of African Americans: two blacks and four Asians out of approximately thirty students. The teacher was also a white female. The whole school population was also predominantly white, particularly for older students:

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| Researcher: | Grace 반 인종 비율이 어떻게 되요? [How is the racial demographic of Grace's class?] |
| Grace's father: | 30 명정도데요. 아시아계 학생은 4 명. 흑인 두명. 나머지는 다 백인 [There are thirty students. Among them, there are four Asian Americans, and two blacks. And all are whites except for them.] |
| Researcher: | 학교 전체는 어떤가요? 백인이 많은 가요? [What about a whole school population? Is it white dominant?] |

Grace's father: 좀 그런거 같아요. 제가 볼때는. 지금 킨더가든하고 그 위의 학년 정도 까지는 좀 섞여있는거 같은데요 그 위로는 거의 다 백인 애들이예요 [Yes. I think so. It seems a little bit mixed in kindergarten and younger grader classrooms but older children's classrooms are almost all whites.]

Grace's mother and father indicated that their choice of school was simply based on a geographical distance, rather than racial demographics of the school. They also informed me that, although they did not select their living area based on the African American population, they saw very few black people in their neighborhood. Consequently, Grace was exposed to white dominant surroundings in both her mainstream school and her living area.

Jimmy. Jimmy also attended a private school, which was white-dominant. Jimmy's mother indicated that there were not any African American students in Jimmy's classroom and there was only one Chinese boy. Jimmy's teacher was also a white female. The whole school population was very white-dominant: in the whole school, there were only five Asians and few Latinos, and there were very limited number of African Americans. According to Jimmy's mother, she saw only one black child in his school, but he was not actually "a black" because his father was a white.

One of the noticeable things regarding Jimmy's school was that Jimmy had recently changed it. Jimmy's mother informed me that Jimmy used to go to a public school with a number of children of color. She sent Jimmy to the previous school because of the English as a Second Language (ESL) program. However, Jimmy changed his school because both Jimmy's mother and father worried about possible problems that occurred by children of color in his previous school.

Researcher: 흑인이 많은 학교에 대해서 불편한감이 있으세요? [Can I ask if you have any uncomfortable feelings about sending your son to schools with a high African American population?]

Jimmy's mother: 사실 XX 학교로 옮기기는 했어요. [In fact, we recently moved to XX school.]

Researcher: 혹시 흑인이 많아서 그런 이유였나요? [Was it because there are many African Americans in the previous school?]

Jimmy's mother: 아뇨. 꼭 그렇게 흑인 아이들과 놀게 하고 싶지 않아서 그런게 아니라 그냥 한국 사회에서 엄마들이 애들이 어릴때는 괜찮은데 좀 높아지면 애들이 약간 거칠어 지고 이런 trouble 들을 많이 일으킨다고 그래서, 그래서 옮겼어요 저희는. [No, not necessarily because we did not want him to play with black children. I've often heard from Korean mothers that, when (black) children are getting older, they are getting tough and make many problems, although children who are in low grades are fine. So, we moved his school.]

Researcher: 아.. [Oh. I see.]

Jimmy's mother: 그래서 학교를 옮겼어요. 사실. 같은 지역이기는 한데, 원래 ESL 을 들어야되서 XX school 을 갔었는데 저희는 그냥 잘하든지 안하든지 간에 옮겼어요 그냥. [In fact, two schools are in the same area. We chose his previous school because Jimmy had to take ESL classes but we decided to move his school regardless of Jimmy's English skills.]

Although Jimmy's mother stated that the reason for why Jimmy moved his school was not related to the high African American population, it seemed that the racial demographics of his previous school worked as an important factor for them to change Jimmy's school. Like Jimmy's school, his living area was very predominantly white with very few African Americans. Accordingly, Jimmy was exposed to white-dominant surroundings both in his school and his neighborhood.

Katie. As indicated earlier, Katie attended the same school with Grace. Her mother indicated that they chose the school because Katie's brother went to the same school. According to Katie's mother, Katie's school is very white-dominant. Most students in her classroom were whites, and the teacher of her classroom was also a white female. However, unlike other classrooms in the school, there were few Asian students and a couple of African Americans.

Katie's mother pointed out that the racial demographics of Katie's school recently started to change.

Researcher: 그럼 지금 반에 흑인 애들이 있나요? [Are there some African Americans in Katie's classroom?]

Katie's mother: 네. 한 한두명? 아시아애들도 한 세네명. 한국애 세명 인도애 한명? [Yes. One or two (African Americans)? There are three or four Asians in her classroom. Three Koreans and one Indian?]

Researcher: 학교 전체는 어때요? [What about the whole school demographics?]

Katie's mother: 전체는 되게 없었어요. 큰애가 거길 다니는데 사실 작년 재작년까지 큰애는 같은반에서 남녀통틀어서 아시아인으로서는 하나예요. 프라이빗이어서 한학년에 한반밖에 없는데 지금 한국 사람이 좀 들어오기 시작한건 작년 재작년? [In terms of the whole school demographics, there are very few (students of color). In fact, in Katie's brother's classroom, there were no Asian students until two years ago. Since it is a private school, there is only one class in each grade. It was only the year before last when I started to see Korean students.]

Researcher: 그럼 완전 백인 위주인가요? [So, you mean her school is very white dominant?]

Katie's mother: 백인 위준데 그렇다고 완전 여기 사는 사람들 위주는 아니고 유럽 사람들 있고 동양애들도 많이 드물었던거 같아요. 다른 학교에 비해서 유색인종 비율이 정말 드물긴 해요. 근데 Katie 반 경우는 정말 럭키하게 한국애가 세명있어요 합쳐서. [Yeah, but not native Americans but European Americans. Compared to other schools, there is very limited number of children of color. But, Katie was very lucky enough to have three Koreans in her classroom.]

In the interview above, Katie's mother indicated that Katie was fortunate enough to have three Korean classmates (including Grace) in her classroom. In terms of Katie's neighborhood, she lived in white-dominant surroundings just like other participants due to a safety issue.

Katie's mother indicated that she preferred to live in a white-dominant area because of high black crime rates.

Sam. Sam's neighborhood was also predominantly white. However, Sam was exposed to black-dominant surroundings because, unlike the other children, Sam attended a school with a high African American population. In Sam's classroom, more than half were black out of twenty-two students. There were five or six whites and only three or four Asians.

Researcher: 거기는 인종 비율이 어때요? [How is the ratio of race there?]

Sam's mother: 좀 흑인이 많은거 같아요. 샘 반은. Half 이상은 흑인이구 22-3 명 중에 백인이 5-6 명 정도 되는 것 같아요. 아시아는 3-4 명. 제가 보기에. [I think that Sam's class is black dominant. Among 22-23 students, more than half are black students. There are 5 to 6 white students, and 3 to 4 Asians.]

Researcher: Sam 반만 그래요? [So, is Sam's class the only one like that?]

Sam's mother: 아니요. 아시는지 모르겠는데 그 학교에 킨더는 세 class 있는데 그, gifted class 가 있어요. 킨더 하고 first grade 는 없고 second grade 부터 gifted class 가 있는데 그 gift class 를 위해서 그쪽으로 많이 가고 다른 클라스는 명수가 적더라구요. 학년이 올라갈수록 한 7-8 명? 더 작기도 하고. 그래서 거기로 포커스를 두고 있지 않나. [No. I am not sure if you already heard of this but there are three kindergarten classes in that school, and there are gifted classes. Although there is no gifted class for kindergarteners and first graders, people send their children to that school for these gifted classes because these classes have a few number of students: one class consists of 7 to 8 students or less than that. That is an important reason for us to choose that school.]

Sam's teacher was also black while all other participating children's teachers were white Americans. Sam's mother indicated that, although they chose the school because of the small number of students in a class, she was not comfortable with a high African American population in his school. With this concern, Sam's sister recently moved to a white-dominant school (she used to go to the same school with Sam). Yet, racial demographics of her new school caused another problem as follows:

Sam's mother: 우리 딸이 1 학년때 학교를 옮겼는데 그 친구만 아시아인이었어요 (전부 백인이고). 근데 이 타운에는 그래도 아시아인 비중이

많은데 주변 친구들이 별로 아시아인을 볼 기회가 없었나봐요.
 되게 신기하게 쳐다봤나봐요. 되게 신기한듯이 계속 쳐다봐서 제
 딸이 되게 불쾌했다고.. 자기가 기분이 나빴다는 식으로 그렇게
 얘기를 하더라구요. 나는 그냥 어리다고 생각했는데 이제 자기가
 다른 애들이랑 다르게 생겼다는걸 느끼는 구나.. 근데 또 점심
 시간에 밥먹는것도 그.. 음식이 냄새나고 다른 애들이랑 다르니까
 한국음식 안싸겠다고.. 애들이 자꾸 머 먹냐고 보고 그러니까..
 그래서 그냥 샌드위치 위주로 하고.. 먹는것도 좀 그럴더라구요
 [When my daughter (Sam's older sister) was in a first grade, she
 moved to a different school, and in her new school, she was the only
 Asian. Despite the high Asian population around that area, it seemed
 that the children in her classroom were rarely exposed to Asian people.
 One day, my daughter said that she felt bad for her peers because they
 kept looking at her face curiously. Before she said that, I thought she
 was so young that she might not be able to acknowledge differences
 between her peers and herself, but it was not. After that, she insisted
 that she would not bring Korean food for her lunch because her peers
 kept asking her what she was eating. She also worried about the smell
 (of food). So, I started to prepare only sandwiches.. Anyway, food
 was also the problem.]

It seemed paradoxical that Sam's sister moved to a white-dominant school because of a
 high African American population in her previous school, but the small number of children of
 color in her new school caused another problem. Sam's mother indicated that, although she was
 uncomfortable with the isolation of her daughter, she was not considering switching her
 daughter's school again.

Sue. Sue attended a private school with a low African American population. Most of
 her classmates were whites. Her living area was also white dominant. In this surroundings, Sue
 had had very limited contact with other racial groups. I was not able to obtain detailed
 information about Sue's school demographics and Sue's mother's racial attitudes toward African
 Americans because Sue's mother refused to have interviews about race-related issues.

Young. Young also attended a white-dominant private school. According to Young's
 mother, Young was the only non-white student in his classroom. The teacher was also a white
 female. The whole school population was also extremely white-dominant with few Asians and a

very limited number of African Americans (she could not remember the exact number of non-white students in school). When I asked if racial demographics were the reasons why the mother sent Young to that school, she strongly denied it:

Researcher: XX school 에 보낸게 혹시 흑인이 없고 그런게 연관이 있나요?
[Did a low African American population affect your decision when you chose the school?]

Young's mother 아뇨 아뇨. 거기 보낸게 흑인이 좀 없구 그런건 전혀 아니구요
우리가 원하는 국립학교를 못갔고 Young 이 거기 학교 선생님을
많이 좋아하거든요. [No, No. The reason that we sent Young to that
school was not related to African American children. It was just
because we failed to send him to the public school we wanted, and
Young likes teachers in that school.]

Young's mother indicated that they chose the school because Young liked the teachers in that school. In addition to the school, Young's living area was also white-dominant due to security reasons.

As discussed above, most participating children were exposed to white-dominant surroundings. The following table summarizes each participant's school demographics, the race of teacher, and racial demographics of his/her living area.

Table 13

Racial Demographics of Schools and Neighborhood

Name	Classroom	School	Race of Teacher	Neighborhood
Young	All white	Extremely white dominant Very few blacks Few Asians	White female	White dominant
Jimmy	Very white dominant 1 Chinese	Very white dominant 5 Asians Some Latinos Very few blacks	White female	White dominant
Sam	Black dominant 5 or 6 whites 3 or 4 Asians	Black dominant Some Asians	Black female	White dominant
Sue	Not answered	White dominant	Not answered	White dominant
Grace	White dominant 2 blacks and 4 Asians	White dominant Very few blacks Few Asians	White female	White dominant
Katie	White dominant 3 Koreans A couple of blacks	White dominant Very few blacks Few Asians	White female	White dominant

The following sub-section discusses the participating parents' racial attitudes toward African Americans.

Racial attitudes of parents. When I interviewed the children's parents, they revealed different views toward African Americans. However, most of their answers were negative. This section focuses on the parents' racial attitudes toward African Americans.

Grace's mother and father. Unlike most participating parents, both Grace's mother and father did not present negative views toward African Americans.

Researcher: 흑인들에 대해서 어머니는 어떻게 생각하세요? [What do you think of African Americans?]

Grace's mother: 그런 반감은 없는거 같아요. 내 자체가 여기서 minority 기 때문에 편견같은건 없는거 같아요 [I don't think that I have any hostile feeling toward them. I don't have prejudice because I, myself, am a minority here.]

Grace's mother indicated that she did not have a specific antipathy toward African Americans. Compared to Grace's mother, Grace's father's views toward African Americans were more positive. When I asked his racial attitudes toward African Americans, he smiled embarrassingly at first, but after a few seconds, he started to answer as follows:

Grace's father: 저는 사실... 되게.. 전형적인 한국 사람인거 같아요. 미국와서 굉장히 많이 바꿨어요. 그전에는 한국에만 있다보니까.. 그런거 있잖아요. 남쪽 아시아쪽에서 오신.. 저도 모르게.. 학교에서도 있으면 먼저 인사하기 보다는 저희 끼리 놀구 가끔 한번씩 놀아주고 또 저희끼리 놀구 그런식이 잦아요. 흑인에 대해서도 좀 선입견이 있었던거 같아요. 근데 미국와서 많은 나라에서온 친구들을 보다 보니까 그런게 많이 바뀌는데요 아직도 그런.. 흑인 뿐만 아니라 미국 사람들에 대한 그런게 좀 있는거 같아요. 저는 사실 흑인 친구들이 좀 더 편해요. [Well.... Actually, I am very... a typical Korean man, but I changed a lot after coming to the US. Before coming here, I grew up in Korea during my whole life so... if I saw someone who came from South Asia, then I rarely greeted them first. Also, I always hung out with Korean guys, and I rarely played with people from other countries. I think that I also had some prejudice toward black people. But, after coming to the US, I had a chance to meet people from all different countries and my attitudes toward other racial groups also changed. Yet, I would say that I still have some kind of uncomfortable feeling toward Americans, not necessarily black people. In fact, I feel more comfortable with black buddies.]

Grace' father was very open to share his racial attitudes toward African Americans. He indicated that, although he had some negative views when he was in Korea, he started to open his mind to African Americans after coming to the US. When I asked him if there were some specific opportunities to make him be more comfortable with them, he shared the story of his first encounter with African Americans as follows:

Grace's father: 저는 계기가 좀 많아요. 이런 얘기까지 해도 되는지 모르겠는데.. 제가 흡연을 하거든요. 그러다보면 구석이나 좀 외진데를

가게되는데요 꼭 그 친구들을 만나요. 그러면 같이 얘기를 할수 있는 기회들이 조금 씩 생겨요. 예를 들면 담배하나 빌려줘라 부터 시작해서.. 처음에는 “헉” 했죠. 어 무섭다! 근데 시간이 지나면서 보니까 어떻게 보면 더 친절한거 같아요. 제가 느꼈던건 미국 사람들은 처음 본 사람한테는 how are you 하면서 되게 반갑다는 식으로 하는데 그게 그냥 일상적인 표현이었다는걸 나중에 알았거든요. 흑인 친구들도 그런게 있는데 bro 표현을 쓰더라구요. Hey bro 하면서 바로 담배하나 나눠피고.. 가지도 않아요! 갔으면 좋겠는데. 나의 이 자유시간을 (laugh). 근데 계속 옆에서 이야기를 하는거예요. 처음에는 무슨말하는지도 못알아 들었어요. 억양 이런 부분 때문에. 그래도 참 색다른 경험이었다가.. 제일 처음 시작이 그랬었는데 그다음 만나고 그다음 만나고 시간이 좀 지나면서 그냥 오히려.. 모르겠어요. 백인들 같은 경우는 how are you 한마디 하고 등돌아서 가는게 대부분인데 이 친구들은 그래도 서로 말은 잘 못하는데 제가 말을 잘 못하니까 안통할 수는 있어도 계속 말을 하더라구요. 그래서 저도 가끔씩 한마디씩 하면 알아듣는지 못알아듣는지는 몰라도 그냥 맞아맞아 머 (laugh). 그런 다른 점들은 좀 느꼈던거 같고 그래서 저는 특별한 편견은 없는거 같아요. [For me, I started to have positive views (toward African Americans) due to several occasions. I don't know if it is suitable to talk about this here, but in fact, I am a smoker, and that makes me go some places which seem less busy (e.g. a corner of a building). There, I almost always met black buddies. That provided me with a chance to talk with them. For example, they asked as if they could borrow a cigarette from me. At first, I was scared. But as time passed by, I started to feel that they were kinder (than whites) in some way. My first impression about (white) Americans was that they care about me a lot because they always asked me “How are you?” But, later on, I realized that it was just their daily expression. Black guys also have that kind of expression, but they use the term “Bro.” They said “Hey Bro!” and we shared our cigarettes. They often didn't leave early and kept talking, although I sometimes wished to be by myself to enjoy my private time (laugh). At first, I was not able to understand what they said because of their accents. After the first encounter with black guys, I just felt it was a “unique” experience. Yet, as I met black buddies again and again, I felt more.. I don't know. White people usually turn their backs after saying “how are you” but these guys are trying to talk to me although I was not good at English. So, I also started to talk to them too. I don't know if they understood what I said but they responded anyway, saying “Right. Right.” That was the difference I felt (between whites and blacks). Anyway, I think that I do not have any specific prejudice (toward African Americans).

With his specific experience, Grace's father was able to feel closer toward African Americans. His friendly attitudes to African Americans were particularly evident when he called black people “흑인 친구” [black buddies] whereas white people “백인” [white people].

In addition to the experience above, his close feeling to black people was also influenced by his frequent exposure to African Americans: he indicated that he worked with some African Americans at the time of this study (three out of five). With his positive views toward African Americans, Grace's teacher indicated that the race of Grace's teacher would not be an important issue for him.

Jimmy's mother. In terms of the racial views of Jimmy's mother, she revealed negative views toward African Americans.

Researcher: 어머니는 흑인에 대해 어떻게 생각하세요? [What do you think about black people?]

Jimmy's mother: 애들은 모르겠고, 저는 약간 거부감이 있는거 같긴 해요. 이곳에 흑인들 보면, 특히 밤에, 약간 무섭기도 하구. 인사한적도 한번도 없어요. 머... 워낙에 그런걸 많이 봐와서 그런거 같애요. [Well.. I am not sure about how my children think about black people but, for me, I have some negative feeling toward them. If I see black people, especially at night, I just feel scared. Well.. I think that it is because I used to see those things a lot before.]

In the excerpt above, Jimmy's mother indicated that she had some insecure feelings toward African Americans. As for the reason of that, she indicated that it was because she was usually exposed to “그런것” [those kinds of things] in her past experiences. Although she did not specifically mention what she meant by 그런것, in-depth conversations with Jimmy's mother provided me with a chance to glimpse into her racial experiences with her black neighbors:

Researcher: 그러면 주로 직접 경험을 하셔서 무섭게 느끼시는 건가요? 아니면 미디어나 다른것을 통해서? [Then, do you think that that insecure

feeling is caused by your own experiences or by the media or any other things?]

Jimmy's mother: 내 경험에서 온것도 있고 아님 미디어통해서 인것도 있고.. 아마 미디어를 통해서가 더 많지 않을까요. [Some are from my own experiences and some are from media.. but mostly from media I guess.]

Researcher: 실례가 안되면 혹시 흑인들에 관련된 안좋은 경험이 있으시면 말해주실수 있나요? [If you don't mind, do you think you can share any negative experiences related to African Americans?]

Jimmy's mother: 글썄.. 머 특별한건 없었던거 같구... 지금은 생각이 안나네요 [Well.. I think that there was no specific bad experience about African Americans... well.. I just can't remember at this moment.]

Researcher: 그럼 미디어를 통해서 흑인에 관한 나쁜 인식을 갖게 된건 어떤 것들이 있을까요? [Then, do you remember any specific films or something that influenced you to have negative views to black people?]

Jimmy's mother: 글썄 딱히 어떤 거 라고 기억나는건 없지만 그냥 자연스럽게 그런 인식이 생겼던거 같아요. 흑인은 무섭다 위험하다 머 그런거.. [Well.. I don't remember the specific films (that described black people negatively) but I think that I got the idea that blacks are insecure or dangerous just naturally.]

Jimmy's mother indicated that her uncomfortable feeling toward African Americans resulted from her own experiences and her exposure to negative images of blacks through media. However, she did not have any specific recollection about both of them. It seemed that she did not want to share details of her negative feeling toward African Americans. Yet, as our conversation got going, Jimmy's mother started to share her straightforward racial views and informed me that she only accepted Koreans and "typical Americans."

Jimmy's mother: 관심도 없구 사실.. 알고 싶지도 않고 그런거 같아요. 그렇다고 머.. 이사람이 나한테 머 친하자고 하고 그런데 너 싫어 이런건 아니구 그러면 상관은 없지만 구지 내가 이사람이랑 친해서 이사람의 문화를 받아들이고 싶다 이런거는 없는거 같아요. [In fact, I am not interested in knowing people from other cultures. If somebody (from another culture) approaches me first, I might not say "I don't like you." However, I don't think that I want to approach to them first and try to be close with them.]

Jimmy's mother indicated that she was not interested in knowing other racial/ethnic groups. However, she was relatively more interested in learning "white" culture because her family was planning to immigrate to the US. With her negative racial views toward other racial groups, she mostly socialized with Korean people. She also informed me that she would not be comfortable if Jimmy had a black teacher at his school, but she could not explain a specific reason for it.

Katie's mother. With regards to Katie's mother's racial attitudes toward African Americans, she indicated that it depended on the situation and the location.

Katie's mother: 그냥 좀 다른거 같아요. 학교에서 보는 흑인은 괜찮아요. 학교에서 보는 흑인은 심지어 말투도 백인이랑 비슷한 경우가 많아요. 거기 흑인들은 행동들이 다르거나 하지 않고 오히려 더 도도해요.. 얘기 들어보면 유명한 surgeon 이라든지 그 동네에서 잘나가는 사람들은 흑인은 흑인 촌에 사는게 아니라고. [It just depends. For me, if I meet black people in a school context, I feel fine toward them. African Americans I meet at school are very similar to white people. They do not have any black accent. Sometimes, they even look more proud (than whites). People said that prominent African Americans such as famous African American surgeons do not live in the area with many African Americans.]

However, Katie's mother indicated when she met black people at other places such as a gas station, she felt insecure.

Katie's mother: 흑인촌에서 머 주유소라든지 이런데서 보면 무서워요. 꺾렁대면서 눈빛도 다르고.. (smile) 무슨말인지 알죠? [When I meet black people at other places like gas stations, I feel scared. They seem to have a different stare... You know what I mean..]

Researcher: 근데 백인이 같은 눈빛을 하면 어때요? [What if white people had the same stare?]

Katie's mother: 백인도 그러구 있으면 무섭죠. 만약 흑인 백인이 똑같이 그러고 다닌다면 흑인이 더 무섭죠. 아무래도 흑인들이 좀 무서운 인식이 있잖아요. [I might feel scared as well if white people are staring at me like that. However, if white people and black people are staring at me

in the same way, I might feel more scared to black people
because..you know.. we often think that blacks are more dangerous.]

In order to make sure if Katie's mother had a specific experience that caused her to have insecure feelings toward African Americans, I asked her about it, and she shared several experiences.

Katie's mother: 전화가 잘못와서 나를 되게 괴롭혔던 흑인이 한명 있어요. 굉장히 흑인 억양이 심한. 잘못걸었다고 몇번 얘기 했는데 그 사람이 돈을 떼먹고 도망을 갔는지 나보고 너 알면서 거짓말 한다는 식으로 계속 얘기하는거예요. 정말 집요하게 전화를 해서 욕을 하고 메시지를 새벽 1 시에 10 분 간격으로 걸어서 전화를 꺼놔더니 욕을하면서 메시지를 엄청 남긴거예요. [There was a black man who harassed me a lot through the phone. He had a very strong black accent. I told him that he got the wrong number, but he called me continuously. It seemed that he needed to collect the debts from a guy, and that guy seemed to give him my number. On the phone, he kept saying that I am lying to him, and he even swore me. Sometimes, he called me every 10 minutes at 1 o'clock in the morning, so I turned off my phone. Then, I found out next morning that he left me thousands of messages with crazy words.]

Katie's mother indicated that her family was scared of the man on the phone but he stopped calling her after a certain period of time. In addition to that experience, she also shared another negative experience related to African Americans.

Katie's mother: 길거리에서 술병을 들고 공격을 하는거예요. 욕을 하면서. 자동차에 막 오면서. 시카고에서 있었던 일이긴 한데. 그냥 가다가 파란불인데 어떤 사람이 뛰어들더라고요. 술병을 들고. 그러면서 얼굴을 쳐다보고 욕을 하더라고요. [One day, a black person attacked us with a liquor bottle in his hand. He just approached to our car and swore to us. It happened in Chicago. We were in the intersection, waiting for the signal, and the guy was jumping to our car, and he looked up into our faces, swearing to us.]

Researcher: 아무이유없어요? [Without any reason?]

Katie's mother: 예 [Yes].

Researcher: 별일은 없으셨구요? [So, were you ok?]

Katie's mother: 예. 그냥 가만히 있었죠. 그러니까 그냥 지나가더라구요. 근데 완전 취한거죠. 술에 취했던 마약에 취했던. 그런게 백인 보다 항상 흑인이었어요. [We just stayed still until he passed by. He seemed really drunk with any liquor or drug whatever. Anyway, those kinds of bad experiences were always related to blacks, rather than whites.]

However, although Katie's mother had a couple of negative experiences, she indicated that those experiences did not specifically hurt her racial attitudes toward black people because it could happen to anyone, not just to African Americans.

In addition, Katie's mother stated that a skin color was not important when she made friends. She emphasized that she sometimes socialized with a few black mothers in the Katie's school.

Katie's mother: 특별히 싫어하지는 않는거 같아요. 그 사람이 만약 스윗하게 다가오면 솔직히 친해지는데 전혀 문제 없을거 같아요. 백인이나 흑인이나 똑같아요.... 사실 학교에 (흑인중에서) 따로 연락하는 정도 까지는 아니지만 만나면 반갑게 인사하는 분들은 있어요. Special education 쪽에 계신 분인데 우연히 도서관이 그런데서 만나면 학교 보내는 문제로 얘기도 꽤 많이 하구. 생일 파티에 가서도 애들 노는 동안에 얘기도 많아 하구. 정보 교환을 꽤 많이 공유하구. 그래서 흑인에 대한 특별한 선입견은 없는거 같아요. [I don't specifically have any bad feeling toward African Americans. If any sweet black person approaches me, we can definitely be friends. For me, black and white people are the same... In fact, I know some black mothers. Although I don't contact them personally, we still have very good relationships. Among them, there is a mother whose major is special education. I sometimes met her at the local libraries by chance, and we talked a lot about school-related issues. I also met her at birthday parties and, while the children played together, we talked to each other and exchanged some information. So, I think that I do not have any prejudice to African Americans.]

The interviews with Katie's mother indicated that she did not have any specific antipathy toward black people, but her views varied according to which context she was exposed to.

Sam's mother. Sam was the only student who attended the school with a high African American population. However, when I asked Sam's mother about her racial attitudes toward

African Americans, she revealed somewhat negative views toward African Americans, especially when she saw black people who wore ragged clothes.

Researcher: 흑인들에 대해서 어떻게 생각하세요? [Can I ask your views toward black people?]

Sam's mother: 머.. 옷차림이 껄렁껄렁하거나 이렇게 좀 히피 스타일이나 좀 그러면.. 조금 그런건 있죠. [Well.. if they are untidy with ragged clothes or a hippie style, then, I feel a little bit.. (uncomfortable)]

Due to her negative views toward black people, she was also uncomfortable about a high African American population in Sam's school.

Researcher: 흑인 많은거 싫지 않으세요? [Are you ok with the high African American population in the school?]

Sam's mother: 좀 그럴긴 한데.. 딱히 집적적으로 샘한테 머 안좋은 일이 있거나 이런일이 없어서 그냥 다니고 있죠. [I feel a little bit uncomfortable about it but, since no direct bad thing has happened to Sam until now, we just send him to the school.]

Researcher: 흑인이 많은 학교가 불편하신 특별한 이유가 혹시 있으시나요? [I am just wondering if there is a specific reason why you feel uncomfortable about sending Sam to schools with the high African American population.]

Sam's mother: 아침에 발런티어로 가끔 가보면 아침에 왜 저소득층 그 왜 음식 공짜로 먹는 프로그램 있잖아요. 그거 먹는애들 보면 흑인애들이고 교육수준이나 소득수준 머 그런거에서 좀 떨어지는구나 근데 그거가 직접적인 영향을 주는건 아닌데 혹시 나쁜말이나 그런거 부모님한테 배워서 쓸까 머 그런게 걱정은 가끔은 되는데.. [Sometimes, I go to the school as a volunteer for a free lunch program. There, I noticed that most children who receive free lunch or free breakfast are black, and that made me think that black people's educational level or income level is a little bit low. I don't think that this surrounding will directly affect Sam's learning but sometimes I worry if these children learn bad words from their parents and use them (at school)].

Sam's mother was uncomfortable about sending her son to the black-dominant school, and that was related to her worry that the low educational or income level of some black people could indirectly affect Sam's learning. She also exhibited her concern about Sam's black teacher.

Sam's teacher was a middle-aged African American female. Sam's mother was uncomfortable about the race of his teacher due to the following reason:

Sam's mother: 사실 Sam 선생님이 흑인이예요. 처음 딱 봤을때 인상은 참 좋었는데 항상 웃으시고 되게 쾌활하시고 그래서 마음에는 들었는데 이야기를 할 기회가 있어서 몇번 했는데, 그 왜 그 톤 때문에, 아무래도 (Sam 이)언어를 접할 시기기 때문에 그게 조금 걸렸고.. [In fact, Sam's teacher is a black. When I saw her at first, I had a good impression about her because she always smiled and looked very cheerful. Then, I had a chance to talk with her several times, and, as you know, the accent (bothered me), because, for Sam, it is a very important period to learn languages.]

Although Sam's mother was not a native English speaker so that she was learning English on a regular basis, she worried his teacher's African American accent. It seemed that she considered that English spoken by white Americans is more authentic.

Young's mother. As indicated earlier, Young attended a white-dominant school. Although Young's mother indicated that they selected the school because of Young's inclination to the teachers at the school, it seemed that the school demographics also affected her decision.

Young's mother: 흑인이라고 무섭거나 나쁜 사람들은 아닌데.. 말 잘 안듣거나 좀 옷차림새가 낡고 이상하거나 그런애들이 흑인애들이 많이 보이니까 그럴때는 좀.. 흑인들이 많은 학교에 가면 안될거 같다.. 그런 생각이 들어요. 근데 큰애 학교에 가보면 흑인들이 좀 있거든요. 근데 흑인애들이 다 나쁜건 아니구 어떤면에서는 더 순진하구 정이 많은거 같기도 하구.. [I don't think that all black people are bad or dangerous but, well.. sometimes, I feel that schools with many African American people would not be good because I often see most unmanageable students with shabby clothes are black. But, there are some black children in Young's sister's school. I do not mean that all black children are bad. In some ways, they are more naive and warmhearted.]

In the excerpt above, Young's mother exhibited her slightly negative views toward African Americans. Although she emphasized that not every black person is problematic or dangerous, she still did not want to send her son to the school with a high African American

population. Also, when I asked Young's mother about her views about a black teacher, she answered negatively and avoided explaining the reason. In addition, like most participating mothers, Young's mother also did not usually socialize with black people due to the limited chances to meet them.

The following table summarizes the participating parents' racial attitudes toward African Americans, their socializing with African American people, and any negative experiences related to black people.

Table 14

Parents' Racial Attitudes toward Black People

Name	Racial Attitudes to African Americans	Socializing with Black People	Negative Experiences related to African Americans
Grace's mother and father	Positive	Sometimes	No
Jimmy's mother	Negative	Almost Never	No
Katie's mother	Depending on	Sometimes	Yes
Sam's mother	Slightly negative	Rare	No
Sue's mother	Not responded	Not responded	Not responded
Young's mother	Slightly negative	Very rare	No

The table above indicated that, although most participating parents did not have specific undesirable experiences with African Americans, their racial attitudes toward them were somewhat negative.

Summary

This section investigated each participant's (1) reading-related experiences outside the KLS and reading habits in Ms. Park's classroom, (2) peer relationships at the KLS, (3) racial

demographics of the children's mainstream schools, and (4) their parents' racial attitudes toward African Americans. Most participating children read Korean books at home, and they had had no (or very limited) chance to read social justice literature at home in spite of all participating mothers' positive views about reading those books to young children. In terms of the children's peer relationships in Ms. Park's classroom, the relationships among three girls were very complicated with subtle tensions while the boys' relationships were relatively simple. As for the racial demographics of the children's schools and living areas, five students attended white-dominant schools with white teachers, and all participating children lived in white-dominant surroundings. Most participating parents' racial attitudes toward African Americans were not positive. This information will help to better understand the children's responses to black characters in the books, and their social interactions while responding to the books.

Based on this information, the following sections discuss children's responses to four different books that deal with race and social justice issues, and how the children's literary talks helped them understand difficult social themes such as injustice, freedom, discrimination, friendships, and racial/cultural diversity.

Chapter 5

Resisting Black Characters and Exploring the Concept of Equality

Introduction

The present study investigated how the Korean bilingual children in Ms. Park's classroom developed their emergent notions of race and social justice as they read social justice literature and had literary talks about race. The first section explores the children's responses to *인종이야기를 해볼까?* (2007) [*Let's Talk about Race?*], and their literary discussions about race and equality. The book was read in week 2 as the first book. It was a translated version of *Let's Talk about Race* (2005) written by Julius Lester and illustrated by Karen Barbour. The original book was translated by So Jeong Jo, and introduced in Korea two years after the book was published in the US. The black author, Julius Lester, has written 43 books since 1968, and received many awards and honors including the Newbery honor, Coretta Scott King honor, Lewis Carroll Shelf Award, and the American Library Association (ALA) Notable book. Although the book was not popular in Korea, the value of the book was acknowledged in a Korean national newspaper (Hyun, 2007).

Since I noticed that most social justice books for young children are not widespread in Korea, I tried to contact a person who worked at 인권도서관 [A human rights library] (<https://library.humanrights.go.kr>), located in Seoul. Ms. Lee, one of the librarians, indicated that there are around 30,000 different kinds of social justice books in the library. However, there were no social justice books dealing with racial issues for those who are in lower grades. When I asked the reason for that, she remarked that it might be because (1) many people think that social justice issues are too difficult for young children, and (2) most social justice books published in

Korea usually focus on protests against the military regime during the 1960's and 1970's, rather than racial issues. The first section starts from discussing the children's responses to the book *인종이야기를 해볼까?* [*Let's Talk about Race?*] (2007).

Children's Responses to African American Characters

Ramsey (1991) argues that even children who have little contact with other ethnic and racial groups still understand the racial differences from their early age. Most children in Ms. Park's classroom seemed to notice the skin color differences around them. Yet, due to limited chances to interact with African American children in either their schools or their neighborhood, some children seemed to have biased attitudes toward black people. This was particularly evident when the children exhibited their negative attitudes toward black characters. The first sub-section starts from discussing the children's resistance to black characters.

“I don't like him”: negative responses to dark faces. As the Story Time started, four children, Young, Sam, Jimmy, and Grace sat in a row from the left on the carpet around the teacher's reading chair. Katie and Sue joined the Story Time late due to their tardy arrival to the classroom. While the children tried to find their spots, I grabbed a small chair and sat next to the teacher to observe each child's face clearly. The teacher informed me that she brought two books for the day: in addition to the main book, she also brought the book *The Color of Us* by Karen Katz (1999) as a sub-material.

Before reading. When the teacher introduced the cover page of the book *인종이야기를 해볼까?* [*Let's Talk about Race*], the children looked confused and they were silent for a while. Most children seemed not to have any clues about the story. The book had the same illustrations of the original. The cover presented people's faces with different skin colors.

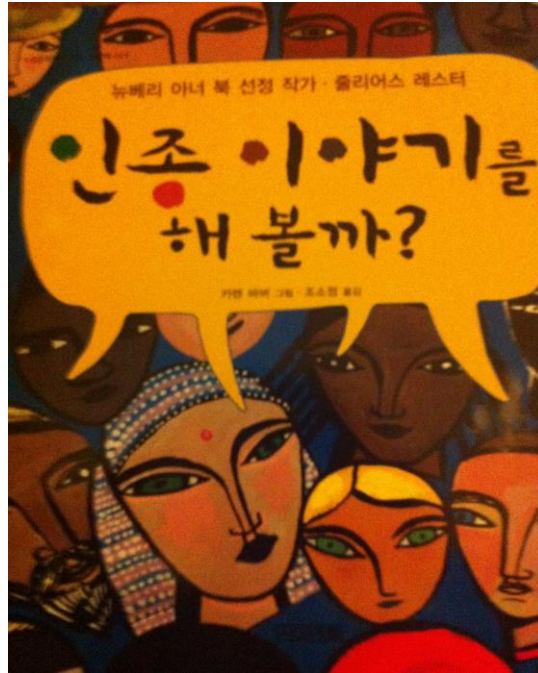


Figure 18. The cover of the *인종 이야기를 해볼까?* (2007).

Noticing the children's confused faces, the teacher explained what 인종 [race] means to the children. Yet, it seemed that no student was familiar with the term. The following is the conversation between the children and the teacher while they investigated the cover of the book (Note: Use of honorifics in Korean is indicated by a “^” mark).

- Teacher: 이 책은 되게 어려운 책이야. 근데 우리가 되게 smart 하니까 오늘 선생님이 이거 읽어줄거야. 괜찮아? 우리 똑똑해 안똑똑해?
[This book is very difficult but I will read this book today because you guys are very smart. Am I right? Are we smart or not smart?]
- Sam, Sue: ^똑똑해요! [Smart!]
- Teacher: 그치. 그럼 자 보자. 여기 머라고 써있어? [Right. Then, let's see. So, what is it saying here?]
- Children: (reading the title) “인종 이야기를 해볼까?” [Let's talk about race?]
- Teacher: 자, 무슨 이야기 일것 같아? [So, can anyone guess what the story would be about?]
- Children: (quiet)

- Teacher: 인종이 먼지 아는사람? (after a while) [Do any of you know what “race” means?]
- Children: (quiet)
- Teacher: 인종은 different kinds of people 이야. [A race means different kinds of people.] 우리 사람들이 다 똑같애? [Do we all look the same?]
- Young, Jimmy: ^달라요. [Different.]
- Teacher: (pointing at different faces on the cover) 어떤사람들은 이렇게 생긴 사람들이 있구, 이렇게 생긴 사람들이 있어. 이렇게 dark 한 사람도 있고 white 한 사람도 있고. 이렇게 다른 종류의 사람을 우리가 인종이라 그래. 영어로는 Race 라고 그래. [Some people look like this and some people look like that. Some are dark like this and others are white like this. We call these different types of people “인종.” In English, we call that “race”].

When the teacher introduced the new term 인종 [race] to the children, most of them looked confused about its meaning. Jimmy and Sam did not pay attention to the book. Young and Grace were looking at the book, but they also seemed uninterested in reading it by making slightly sulky faces. After presenting the meaning of race, the teacher introduced the children black characters in the illustration. Although the teacher did not specifically mention that blacks range from white to ebony, she tried to emphasize some people are born with darker skin than others from the beginning. The following is the discussion between the teacher and Young about black people:

- Teacher: (pointing at the dark face in the middle) 이 친구는 얼굴이 검지. 이렇게 얼굴이 검은 사람들을 “흑인”이라고 불러 [This guy here has dark face. We call the group of people with dark skin “blacks”]
- Young: (with a quiet voice) China.
- Teacher: Chinese 는 black people 이 아니야. [Chinese are not black people.]
- Young: ^A little bit brownish. (after for a while) 근데 black 하면 집이 없을수도 있어요. [But if you are black, you might not have a house.]

- Teacher: 집이 없을수도 있어? 왜? [Not have a house? Why?]
- Young: ^왜냐면 집에 shade 가 없어서 그냥 햇빛 받아야되요. [Because (if you are black), there is no shade at home so you might get much sun.]
- Researcher: 왜 shade 가 없어? [Why do you think that there is no shade (if I am black)?]
- Young: ^왜냐면 가난해서 shade 가 없어요. [Because (you are) so poor that you don't have a shade.]
- Teacher: Black people 은 햇빛을 많이 받아서 검은게 아니라 원래 검은 피부색으로 태어난거야. 우리가 beige skin 으로 태어난거 처럼. [The reason that black people have dark skin is not because they had too much sun. They are born with dark skin from the beginning. Just like we are born with beige skin color.]

Van Ausdale and Feagin (2001) argue that preschool children struggle to make sense of the world around them as they contact all kinds of differences every day. When the teacher brought up the issue of people with dark skin, Young tried to make sense of it by identifying some people with dark skin around him. Reflecting on his experiences related to some dark-skinned people, he indicated that Chinese could be in the category of black people because, in his view, Chinese have a darker skin than Korean people do. Young also stated in Korean that black people have dark skin because they are so poor that they cannot buy a shade at home. In saying this, Young was bringing up his different background knowledge including (1) the skin color could be dark due to long exposure to the sun, and (2) people with dark skin are usually not financially affluent. Although he did not specifically mention if there was a co-relation between dark skin color and poor financial conditions, it seemed that, for Young, the reason for black people's dark skin was related to their financial difficulties.

Garcia (1982) argues that students' learning occurs "through the boarder social and ethnic milieu into which they are born, reared, and thrust" (p. 35). Young's responses to black characters could not be freed from his mother's views toward African Americans. As discussed

earlier, Young's mother exhibited slightly negative views toward African Americans, particular when she looked at some black people with shabby clothes. Although she also pointed out some positive aspects toward African Americans such as their warm-heartedness, she still seemed to feel uncomfortable with some African Americans in a low economic condition.

While observing the conversation between the children and Ms. Park about black people, I became curious if the children had any black friends. Thus, I joined their discussions, and asked about it (Note: The conversation happened without Sue and Katie).

Researcher: 그럼 우리 black 친구 있는 사람? [Then, how many of you have black friends?]

Jimmy: ^없어요! [Not me!]

Teacher: 왜? [Why?]

Jimmy: (with a firm voice) No way!!

Teacher: (to Young) Young 도 없어? [What about you, Young?]

Young: ^없어요 [No.]

Teacher: (to Sam) Sam 은? [What about you Sam?]

Sam: (no answer)

Grace: (with a firm voice) ^없어요. 저는. [No. I do not have.]

Teacher: 왜? [Why?]

Grace: (with a quiet voice) 그냥 싫어요. [Just (I) don't like (them).]

Min (2000) argues that there are limited interactions between Korean American and African American children. In the conversation above, all children provided negative answers about having black friends except for Sam. Although Sam did not specifically answer about his black friends, when I interviewed Sam's mother in February, she indicated that Sam did not have a black friend.

Researcher: 그럼 혹시 Sam 이 흑인 친구가 있거나 그런가요? [So, does Sam have any black friends?]

Sam's mother: 아뇨. 특별히 친하게 지내는 친구는 없어요. [No. There is no specific black friend for him.]

The fact that Sam did not have black friends was particularly notable because Sam was the only student who was exposed to the high African American population in his mainstream school. Aboud (1988) argues that, although preschool children do not always adopt their parents' racial attitudes, they often learn racial prejudice from their parents. As indicated earlier, Sam's mother held slightly negative views toward black people. Particularly, she had uncomfortable feelings toward a low educational level and shabby clothes of some African Americans. When Aboud's notion is applied to Sam's context, Sam's mother's negative views toward African Americans could have contributed to the fact that Sam did not have any black friends.

While Sam did not specifically provide his answer about having black friends, the other children such as Jimmy and Grace exhibited their negative responses about it. Jimmy expressed his strong negative view by emphasizing there being zero possibility of having black friends. Jimmy and Grace's resistance to people with dark skin was more frequently observed as the teacher started to read the book.

Jimmy and Grace's resistance to dark faces. When the teacher read the first two pages, Jimmy and Grace made frowning faces, showing their resistance to dark skin in the illustration. Their uncomfortable feelings were more recognizable when they saw the following dark face.

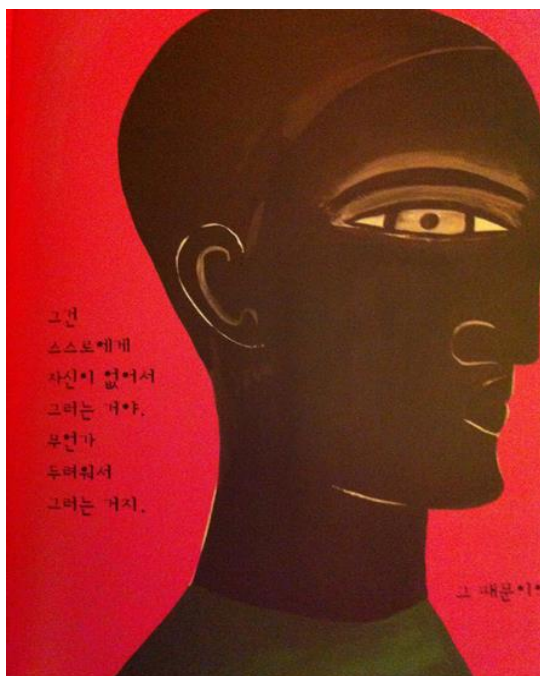


Figure 19. A man with a dark skin.

- Jimmy: (with a frowning face) He is SO~ dark.
- Teacher: 그치. 이 친구는 얼굴이 되게 검다. [Yeah. He is very dark.]
- Jimmy: I don't like him. I saw some black people looks like him.. in my neighborhood.
- The teacher: 싫어요? 왜 싫어요? [You don't like him? Why is that?]
- Jimmy: 그냥. [Just because]
- Teacher: (to Jimmy) 그냥 싫어? 아무 이유없이? [So, you don't like him with no reason?]
- Jimmy: (with a firm voice) 그냥 싫어! [I HATE him just because!!]
- Teacher: 다른 사람은? Grace 는 어때? [What about others? What about Grace?]
- Grace: (with a sullen face and quiet voice) 싫어. [I don't like him.]
- Teacher: 왜? [Why?]
- Grace: (No answer)

The children's conversation about people with dark skin started as Jimmy exhibited his negative responses toward the dark face in the illustration, using English. His resistance to people with dark skin was particularly firm, possibly because of the degree of darkness in the illustration. According to Rosenblatt (1978), during a reading process, readers take active roles to make sense of text by using their past experiences and prior knowledge. When Jimmy looked at the dark face in the text, he brought his past experiences related to people with dark skin in his neighborhood. Although he had limited experiences in his neighbors, he still seemed to have been negatively influenced as evident in his negative responses toward the dark face.

Jimmy's resistance to the dark face in the illustration could also be understood in relation to Jimmy's mother's negative views toward her black neighbors. Jimmy's mother stated that, although she had no specific negative experiences with African Americans, she felt insecure when she saw some black people in her neighborhood. Like Jimmy's mother, Jimmy also expressed his unfavorable feeling toward some black people around his house. This reflected Jimmy's mother's negative views toward African American neighbors and her disinterest in knowing other cultures could directly or indirectly affect Jimmy's uncomfortable feeling toward the dark skin in the illustration.

Like Jimmy, Grace also exhibited her unfriendly feeling toward the dark face. However, both Jimmy and Grace did not specifically indicate the reasons for their negative views toward people with dark skin. Thus, I conducted a short informal interview with them after class while they waited for their mothers to pick them up:

- Researcher: (pointing at the black character in the book) Jimmy 는 이렇게 검은애 좋아 싫어? [Do you like or dislike black skin?]
- Jimmy: (with a small voice) 싫어. [(I) hate him.]
- Grace: (with a louder and firm voice) 나는 싫어. [I hate him.]

Researcher: Grace 는 싫어? 왜? [So, you don't like him? Why?]

Grace: 어.. 학교에 두개나 있는데 한개는 남자구 한개는 여잔데 “나는” 싫어. [Uh.. I have two (people with black skin) at school, and one is a boy and the other is a girl but “I” don't like them.]

Researcher: (to Grace) 왜? [Why?]

Grace: (pointing at the black character) 나는 애같은거 싫어. [I don't like this kind of people.]

Researcher: 애같은건 어떤건데? [So, what do you mean by “this kind of people?”]

Grace: 이렇게 얼굴 검은거 싫어. [Black faces like this.]

Researcher: 왜 싫어? [Why?]

Grace: (with a frowning smile) 그냥 싫어.. [Just because..] (after a while) 이상해 [Just weird.]

Researcher: (to Jimmy) Jimmy 도 싫어? [So, you hate them too?]

Jimmy: 응. [Yes.]

Grace: (talking to herself) 이상해. (with a loud voice) 너무 이상해. [(The faces are) weird. Very weird.]

Researcher: 그럼 얼굴 “하얀”애는 어때? [Then, what about white skin color?]

Grace: 좋아 [I like it.]

Researcher: (to Grace) 얼굴 하얀애는 좋아? 검은애는 싫구? [So, you like white skin but don't like black skin?]

Jimmy: 나도 검은애 싫어. [I don't like black faces either.]

Researcher: Jimmy 는 이렇게 얼굴 검은애 학교에 있어? [Do you have black people like this in school?]

Jimmy: (after for a while) 나는 조금 싫어해. [I don't like them a little bit.]

Researcher: 그럼 Jimmy 는 얼굴 하얀애는 괜찮아? [Then, what about white guys? Are they fine with you?]

- Jimmy: (nodding affirmatively) 응. [Yes.]
- Researcher: 그럼 안되지. [Umm.. that is not good.]
- Jimmy: (with a quiet voice) 왜? [Why?]
- Researcher: 검은애랑 흰애랑 다 똑같이 우리처럼 사람인데. [Blacks and whites are all the same people.]
- Jimmy: (shaking his head hard and speaking fast) 난 몰라. 나 몰라나몰라. 누가 저거 지워놔어. [I don't know. I don't know.. don't know! (pointing at the white board) Somebody erased it.]

In the excerpt above, both Jimmy and Grace indicated their unfavorable feelings toward people with dark skin, using Korean. According to Beach (1995), readers' responses are shaped within the belief systems in a particular community because reading occurs within a complex social and cultural context. Beach's view informs that Jimmy and Grace's hostile feeling toward a black character should be interpreted within their large sociocultural contexts. In Grace's case, she exhibited her strong resistance to black people by emphasizing the subject "I," although the Korean language often omits the subject in a sentence. In terms of the reason for her unfavorable feeling toward African Americans, Grace indicated that it was because dark faces look 이상해[weird] for her. As discussed in the previous chapter, both Grace's father and mother did not reveal any antipathy toward African Americans. Grace's father even had friendly feelings toward African Americans. However, she was exposed to a white-dominant surrounding. Considering this, Grace's negative views toward dark faces could be related to her limited exposure to people with dark skin in her school and in her neighborhood.

Yet, when I interviewed Grace's father about if he considered Grace's racial attitudes toward people with dark skin, he indicated that Grace herself did not seem to have any unfavorable feeling toward them.

Researcher: 선입견이 있다고 생각하세요? [Do you think that Grace has some kinds of biased attitudes (toward other racial groups?)]

Grace's father: 아니요. 없다고 생각해요. 나랑 다르다 그런 생각은 안하는거 같애요... 제 생각에는 아이들이 아직 어려서 서로 다르다는것에 대한 인식이 없는거 같아요. [No. Never. I think that Grace does not consider skin color differences seriously because she is too young.. In my view, that age children are just not mature enough to understand human differences.]

Grace's father considered that Grace was too young to have any prejudice to other racial groups: in fact, all participating parents demonstrated that their children would not have any biased attitudes toward people with certain skin color. However, both Grace and Jimmy showed their unfriendly feelings toward people with dark skin.

The children's biased attitudes toward black characters were also observed when they talked about the authenticity of Santa Claus. The following sub-section examines the children's discussions about Black Santa Claus.

Authenticity of Black Santa Claus. As many children started to be distracted, the teacher used the book *The Colors of Us* by Karen Katz (1999) as a teaching aid to attract their attention. Although the teacher did not read the words, colorful illustrations of different skin colors were helpful to draw the children's attention back. The sub-material was especially helpful because, while black skin colors in the main book were not diverse enough to show the degree of darkness from white to ebony, many different illustrations of dark skin in the sub-text presented this variation. The following illustrations present the examples of this.



Figure 20. Black characters in *The Colors of Us*.

Showing these illustrations, the teacher quickly turned over the pages, and introduced different people and their skin color variations. When the book showed a child with a hat, Jimmy stated in English that he received the similar hat as a Christmas present a few months ago.



Figure 21. The child with a hat.

As Jimmy brought up the issue of Santa Claus, the teacher skillfully connected Jimmy's response to the race-related talk, and that initiated students' long discussion about authenticity of Santa Claus as follows:

Jimmy: Wait! Wait! (pointing the colorful hat in the picture) I have THAT hat. Santa Claus gave me last winter!

Teacher: 그랬어? 좋았겠다. 산타 클로스 할아버지는 어떻게 생겼어?
[Wow, that sounds exciting. So, how does Santa Claus look like?]

Jimmy: (pretending to have a beard) 이렇게 이렇게 생겼어요. [He looked like this and this.]

Teacher: 그럼 피부 색깔이 어때? [Really? Then, how does the skin color of Santa Claus look like?]

Sue: (raising a hand) 저기.. light! [That is... light!]

Teacher: Light 해? [So, was he light?]

Sue: Sue 거는 light 였어요. [Mine was light.]

- Teacher: Dark 한 산타 클로스는? 얼굴이 검은 산타클로스는 어떨거 같아?
[What about a dark Santa Claus? Have you ever seen a Black Santa Claus?]
- Sue: Oh I never saw him. I only saw like light Santa Claus.
- Katie: Me too.
- Young: I only saw like... black Santa Claus, but he was just pretending to be.
- Teacher: 그냥 pretending 하는거였어? 왜 pretending 하는거라고 생각했어?
[So, he is just pretending? Why do you think that he is just pretending?]
- Young: Because he just try to show how real Santa Claus looks like.
- Teacher: 그러면 그 사람은 진짜 산타 클로스가 아닌것 같아? [Then, do you think that a Black Santa Claus is not real?]
- Young: (nodding affirmatively)
- Teacher: 얼굴이 검은 산타할아버지도 진짜 산타야. 그냥 pretending 하는게 아니라 얼굴 색깔이 그냥 다른거야. 왜냐하면 얼굴 색깔은 다르지만 다 눈 두개 있고, 코 하나 있고 수염도 있잖아. [A Black Santa is also a real Santa. They are not just pretending. The only difference is that they have different skin colors. They all have two eyes, and one nose, and a beard too. Right?]
- Children: (thinking)

Copenhaver-Johnson, Bowman, and Johnson (2007) conducted a study focusing on young children's discussions about authenticity of Santa Claus in a first-grade classroom. In their study, some white children and black children dismissed the idea of Black Santa with the assumption that "the real Santa is White" (p. 241). Like the children in their study, most children in Ms. Park's classroom seemed to consider that only White Santa is real. For example, Young stated in English that a Black Santa is just a fake Santa because he lacks the authenticity. However, when the teacher asked the reason for that, he was not able to answer what decides the realness of Santa. Since he believed that a Black Santa is a fake, when the teacher said that a

Black Santa is also real, he looked confused with a sullen face. He seemed not to agree with the teacher but he was unable to refute the teacher's argument.

The examples above indicate that, when the participating children read the book, they did not passively "consume" (Sipe, 2008) it because, while reading, they connected their lives to the text, reflecting on their social and cultural experiences. In this process, most of the children displayed their negative responses to black characters. Because the children's resistance to dark faces in the illustrations reflected their allegiance to their social contexts, their negative responses should be understood within their larger social and cultural surroundings. The next-sub section examines the children's exploring the concept of equality through literary talks.

Exploring the Concept of Equality through Literary Talks

As more children paid attention to reading, the teacher came back to the main book. It seemed that they became interested in reading the book while they had discussions about Santa Claus. Also, colorful illustrations of the sub-materials helped the children to be interested in different skin colors around them. Although Sam still did not pay attention to reading, as the teacher continued reading, he sometimes looked at the illustrations. This section focuses on how the children developed their emergent notion about equality while sharing their responses and challenging the author's message. The following section focuses on how the teacher encouraged the children to develop their critical views while reading the book.

Challenging the author's message. According to Rosenblatt (1978), readers are not "merely subjected to texts" as "a blank tape registering ready-made message" (p. 10). While reading the book, the children in Ms. Park's classroom were actively creating meanings, and in this process, they sometimes challenged the author's voice in the text. This was particularly

obvious when they followed some instructions from the text such as “touch gently below your eyes” and “feel what is in there.” The illustration showed a black girl who touched her mother’s bone under her eye.

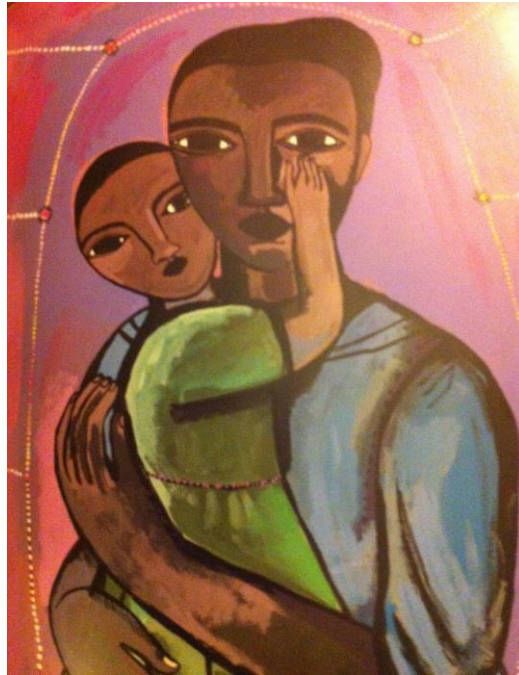


Figure 22. A black mother and her daughter.

The following is the conversation between the children and the teacher while they followed the instruction.

Teacher: (reading) “손가락으로 눈밑을 만져봐. 살짝 조심스럽게. 눈밑을 찌르지 (looking at the children) 우리도 한번 만져볼까? 않게.
[(reading) “Touch below your eyes with your finger. Carefully.” So, do you guys want to touch below our eyes too?]

Jimmy: 난 눈 만져봤어. [I touched below my eyes.]

Teacher: (reading) “이제 살짝 눌러봐. 살갗아래에 단단한 뼈가 느껴질때까지” [(reading) “Now, press it until you feel the bone under your skin”].

Sam: 아. 머리아파. 누르니까. [Oh.. I have a headache because I press it].

Teacher: 살짝. 조심스럽게. 눈밑에 여기 머가 있어? [Gently and carefully. So, what do you feel under your eyes?]

Sue: ^뼈. 뼈요! [Bone. Bone.]

Katie: A bone!

Teacher: Feel 해? 이거봐. 이렇게 살갓아래에는 단단한 뼈가 있어. [Can you feel it? Look at this. We have a hard bone under our skin.]

Katie: (with a loud voice) It's skeleton.

Teacher: 그럴지. 이걸 세상 누구나 다 똑같애. (pointing black people) 이 사람들도 봐. 이 사람도 뼈가 있을까? [That is right. All human beings in the world are the same. Look at these people. Do you think that they also have bones?]

Children: (with a small voice) ^네. [Yes.]

As all children gently pressed below their eyes, Sue stated in Korean that she was able to feel the bone, and Katie rephrased it by switching the language to English. While the children were touching the bone below their eyes, the teacher tried to explain that all people in the world are the same because they have a bone below their eyes. However, when Jimmy listened to this, he objected to the teacher as follows:

Jimmy: (to teacher) ^누가 뼈가 없는지 알아요? [Do you know who do not have bones?]

Teacher: 누가? [Who?]

Jimmy: Ghost!

Katie: 하고 squid [And squid]!

Sam: (with a small voice) Octopus!

Teacher: (to Sam) 응? [What is that?]

Children: Octopus!

Teacher: 그건 머지 한국말로? [What is it in Korean?]

Jimmy: 문어!! 뼈가 없어. [“Moon-yeo.” It doesn't have bones.]

Grace: 나 싫어해 [I hate it.]

Jimmy: (looking excited) ^선생님! 얘기해 줄게 있어요! 무척추는 뼈가 없는거예요. 척추동물은 뼈가 있는거예요. [Teacher! I have something to tell you. An invertebrate animal is an animal without bones, and a vertebrate has bones.]

When the teacher stated that all human beings are the same because they have bones, Jimmy tried to object to it by stating in Korean that some creatures do not have bones. To support his argument, he identified ghosts as examples of something that looks like human without bones. This response seemed to be influenced by Jimmy's preference for books with unique stories. As Jimmy brought up the issue of ghosts as examples of the things without bones, his new perspective encouraged his peers to think about other examples such as a squid and octopus.

While the children shared their opinions about the creatures without bones, Jimmy was able to recall difficult science terms such as 척추동물 [a vertebrate] and 무척추동물 [an invertebrate animal]: as indicated earlier, Jimmy likes to read science books. As Jimmy exhibited his outstanding knowledge about science, more children seemed to be on Jimmy's side. For instance, Sue attempted to object the teacher's assertion, supporting Jimmy's claim.

Teacher: 와~ 그럴구나. 근데 사람들 중에는 뼈가 없는 사람있어? [Wow. I see. But, is there any human who does not have bones?]

Sue: 응. 있어 [Yes. There is (a human without bones).]

Teacher: 누가 있어? [Who?]

Sue: (thinking for a while)

Sue: (smiling with a very small voice) Mommy?

Teacher: (smiling) No...

Children: (laugh)

Sue: (with an excited voice) I know!! Ghost!!!

Jimmy: ^우리 주변에는 고스트가 많이 있어요. [There are many ghosts around us.]

Sam: Ghosts are not real.

Young: (with a small voice) Statue.

Teacher: Statue 는 사람이 아닌데? 그럼 이 사람들 중에서는 뼈가 없는 사람이 있을까? [Statue is not a human. (pointing at people in the illustration) Then, do you think that any of those people do not have bones?]

Sue: (with an excited voice) 있어요! 있어요! [Yes! Yes!]

Teacher: 누구? [Who?]

Sue: (quiet)

Katie: (with an excited voice) 얘는 파란 사람. 파란 사람은 *** skeleton 하나도 없어요. [This guy is blue. A blue person is *** so that he does not have any skeleton.]

Teacher: 왜? [Why?]

Katie: 파란 사람은 alien 이에요. [Blue people are aliens.]

Teacher: (smiling) 근데 alien 은 사람이 아니잖아. [But aliens are not humans.]

Children: (quiet)

In the conversation above, Sue tried to dispute the teacher's view, using Korean, but as she was not able to find the example of human beings without bones, she tried to joke in a playful manner. Then, she borrowed Jimmy's ghost idea, but her answer confronted an objection from Sam. With Sue's struggle, Young joined the conversation and stated in English that a statue could be an example. However, as his idea was refuted by the teacher again, Katie also tried to help Sue and Young by pointing out aliens as examples of human beings without bones. As the children were not able to find any other examples, it seemed to accept the notion that all humans have bones so that they are all the same.

Exploring the notion of equality. Although the children seemed to accept the author's views, it seemed that Sue still did not want to accept the fact that all human beings are the same. That is particularly obvious when Sue looked at the illustration of two different but similar people.

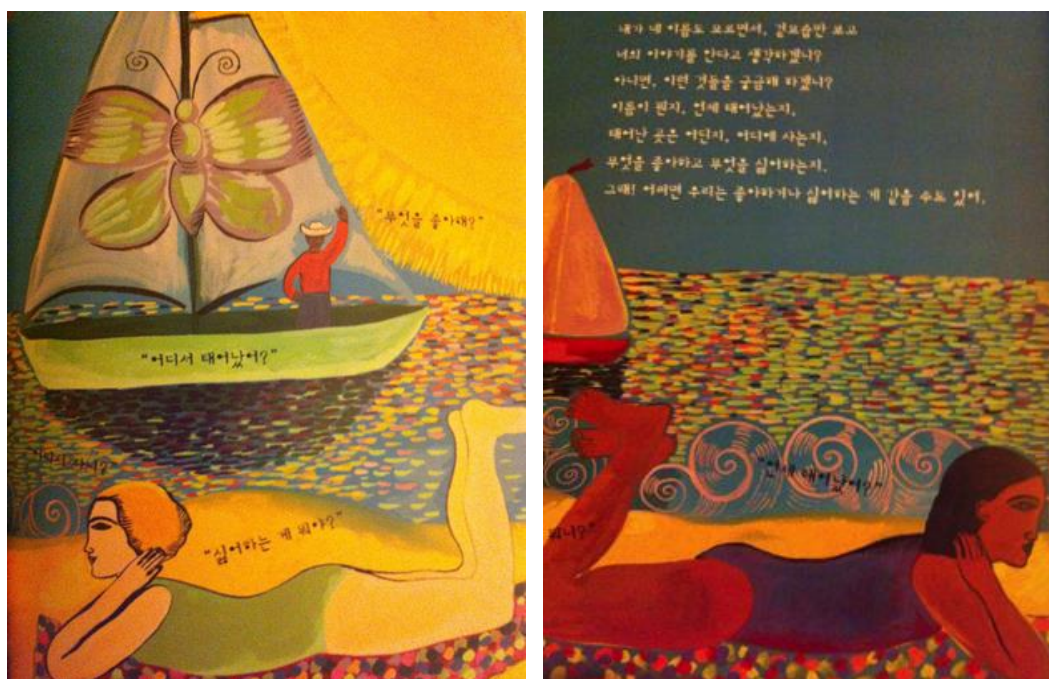


Figure 23. Two women with different skin colors on the beach.

- Sue: (looking excited) ^이거봐요. 둘이 달라요. (pointing at the illustration) 이거는 엉덩이가 ** 이고 다른 사람은 엉덩이가 작구 그리고 skin color 가.. [Look at this! They are different! This butt is ** and this butt is smaller and skin color is...]
- Katie: (with a confident and loud voice) 머리두! [A hair too!]
- Sue: ^머리두 different 해요. 애는 yellow 하고 애는 black 하구. 그리고 skin color 가 Brown 하구 애는 white 하구 swimming suit 도 different 해요. Blue.. [Hair is also different. This (hair) is yellow and this one is black. And skin color is (also different). (This girl is) brown and this (girl) is white, and swimming suit is also different. Blue..]
- Teacher: 맞아. 둘이 다르지. 선생님이랑 우리 친구들이랑 똑같이 안 생긴것 처럼. 그치만 우리 눈이 한개 있는 사람있어? 뼈가 없는 사람도 없지? [That is right! They are different.. just like you guys]

and I do not look the same. But, do any of you have one eye and no bone?]

Sue and Katie: (quiet)....

Teacher: 우리는 이렇게 skin color 만 다를 뿐이지 다 같은 사람들이래. 근데 어떤 사람들은 내가 더 나아! 내가 얼굴이 더 하얀니까 눈색깔이 파라니까 그런건 나쁜거래. [We have different skin colors but we are all the same people. But some people say “I am better because I am white or I have blue eyes!” But that is not a good attitude.]

In this conversation, Sue tried to persuade the teacher using Korean by emphasizing differences of two people in the illustration such as their different skin colors, hairs, and swimming suits. With Sue's trial, Katie also helped Sue to find the differences between two women in the illustration. It seemed that both Sue and Katie tried to refute the idea that all human beings are the same. However, they soon became silent as they realized that, although human beings look different, they all have eyes and bones. The teacher used this silence as a teachable moment, and emphasized that, all people are created as the same, so it is not a positive behavior to ignore others and think highly of oneself.

Like the examples above, while the children were sharing their responses with peers and the teacher through literary talks, they were able to have deeper layers of conversation. Also, through literary talks about the text using two languages, the children could have a chance to think about the notion of equality among people with different skin colors.

Summary

This chapter investigated the children's responses to people with dark skin, particularly black characters, and their literary discussions while reading the book *인종이야기를 해볼까?* [*Let's Talk about Race?*]. Most children exhibited their resistance to dark faces in the

illustrations, and those negative responses were not freed from their social and cultural frames. Although the children looked uninterested in reading the book at the beginning, as the children had meaningful discussions with peers and the teacher about the book, they started to be more engaged in reading. Once engaged, they did not passively consume the book. They were actively interacting with the text. For example, the children did not passively accept the author's voice that "all human beings are equal." As they did not agree with the author, they attempted to refute it by bringing their background knowledge to the text. They sometimes worked collaborately to challenge the author's voice. While having literary talks using both Korean and English about dark-skinned people in the illustrations, the children could have opportunities to deeply think about people with different skin colors people around them.

The children's negative stances toward black characters were also observable when they read the book *헨리의 자유상자* [*Henry's Freedom Box*] (2008) written by Ellen Levine. The subsequent chapter discusses how the children responded to black characters in the book and how literary talks about race provided the children with a chance to develop their emergent notion of freedom and justice.

Chapter 6

Preferential Resistance to Black Characters and Literary Discussions about Freedom and Injustice

Introduction

헨리의 자유상자 [*Henry's Freedom Box*] (2008) was a Korean translated version of *Henry's Freedom Box* written by Ellen Levine (2007), a Jane Addams Peace Award-winning author, and illustrated by Kadir Nelson. It was read during week 3 as the 2nd reading. Although both original and translated books did not get attention in Korea, the original book won many awards and honors such as Caldecott honor, Cooperative Children's Book Center (CCBC) best-of-year Award, and Pennsylvania Young Readers' Choice Award in the US. The book was translated by Hyang Hee Kim, and introduced in Korea in 2008. The translated book had the same illustration on the original. The book was based on true story of a young African American boy, who escaped from slavery by mailing himself to the North. This chapter explores the children's responses to the book, and their literary talks about discrimination, freedom, and Justice.

Resistance to the Black Character, Henry

The original version of *헨리의 자유상자* [*Henry's Freedom Box*] was introduced by the previous teacher in December 2011. However, because the children showed strong resistance to the book, the teacher was able to read only the first page. For instance, Sue called Henry “a toilet man” and resisted the book. When the book was read again by Ms. Park in February 2012, the children still exhibited resistance to the black character, Henry. This section explores the

children's responses to Henry, and how their responses were shaped by their *subject positions* (Beach, 1995).

Preferential resistance. Because the book dealt with difficult themes such as freedom, family, and injustice, Ms. Park demonstrated her worry whether she would be able to successfully explain these difficult terms to her students. I was also worried about the students' reaction to the book since I noticed some students' resistance to the book in the prior semester. As the Story Time started, Sue and Young asked Ms. Park which book she would read for that day while trying to find their own spots: due to Katie's late arrival, five children sat around the teacher's chair: Jimmy, Sue, Young, Sam, and, Grace from the left. Ms. Park presented the book, and explained that it was a translated version of *Henry's Freedom Box* (2007). Most children seemed uninterested in the book with sullen faces. Yet, as the teacher pointed out that the book was based on the real story, some children paid attention to the book. Below, the cover of the book shows a straightforward stare of young boy with dark brown skin.

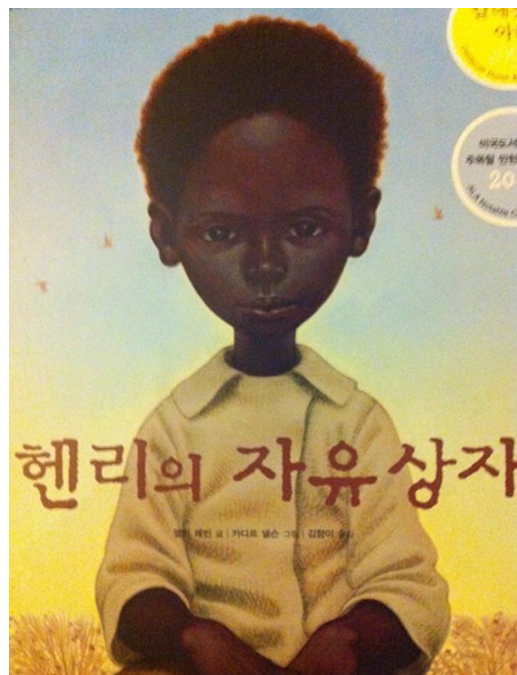


Figure 24. The cover of *헨리의 자유상자* [Henry's Freedom Box].

When Ms. Park showed the cover page of the book, some children including Sue and Young seemed to remember it. The following is the conversation between Sue and Ms. Park when the teacher presented the cover.

- Teacher: 자 여기 보자. 이 친구 이름이 헨리래. 오늘 이책 읽어줄거야. 우리 이 친구 기억나는 사람있어요? [Look at him. His name is Henry. We will read this book today. Do any of us remember this guy?]
- Young: (nodding affirmatively)
- Sue: (pointing Henry's face) Oh..... I remember him.
- Researcher: (to Sue) 이 친구 기억나? 예전에 수가 이 친구보고 “toilet man”이라고 했잖아 [Do you remember him? You said that he is a toilet man at that time.]
- Sue: (a little while) Yeah..... he is a toilet man.
- Teacher: 근데 왜 애가 “toilet man”이야? [Why do you think that he is a toilet man?]
- Sue: (with a loud voice) He is just too dark. So, he smells toilet. And he put his...(murmuring) and put his hair in the toilet water because that's how he do 세수 [wash his face.]
- Teacher: 그럼 헨리가 얼굴색이 너무 검어서 토일렛맨이야? [So, you think that he is a toilet man because his face is too dark?]
- Sue: (Nodding affirmatively) Yep! So, he smells toilet!

When Sue looked at the cover of the book, it seemed that she remembered that they read the book in the previous semester. Sue also seemed to recall that she named Henry as “a toilet man”: although Sue did not specifically explain what “toilet man” meant, it seemed that, for her, a toilet man was a man who was unsanitary. Sipe (2008) argues that, when children read books, they sometimes express their disapproval of stories after cursory examination of books, which is called “preferential resistance” (p. 166). When Sue looked at the cover of the book, she exhibited her negative responses to Henry after a quick observation, mostly using English.

Although the story was completely unrelated to toilets, Sue named Henry as a toilet man since she considered Henry's dark skin to be something on the unsanitary level of a toilet.

However, although Sue called Henry as a toilet man, she could not provide the reason for why Henry had to wash his face using a toilet. As Sue had difficulties in answering the teacher's question, Young joined Sue and helped her as follows:

- Teacher: 애는 그렇게 세수를 해? 왜? [So, he washes his face like that? Why?]
- Sue: (with a small voice) 왜냐하면 옛날 옛날에는 저기 저기... (a pause)
[Because long long time ago....umm.. umm..]
- Young: ^sink 가 없었어요. [There was no sink.] Because he is poor!!
- Sue: Yeah. ^sink 가 없어서..저기.. toilet 에다 세수해야 돼요. [There was no sink... so... he had to wash his face, using toilet.]
- Teacher: 그래서 애는 그렇게 세수했어? [So, he washed his face in the toilet?]
- Sue: (with a loud voice) ^예!! [Yeah.]
- Researcher: (to Young) 근데 헨리는 왜 가난한거 같아? [Why do you think that Henry is poor?]
- Young: (with a loud voice) Because... he don't have money!
- Sue: (with a more confident and louder voice) Yeah... So, he can't buy a sink!
- Teacher: 아 그렇구나. Young 이 말한것처럼 옛날에는 sink 가 없었데. [Oh I see. As Young said, a long time ago, there was no a sink.]
- Sue: Then how they wash their face?
- Teacher: (sink 말구) 다른 걸 이용했지. 그럼 우리 Henry 는 옛날 옛날에 어떻게 살았나 볼까? [They used different things. So, do you guys want to read more to see how Henry lived a long long time ago?]

According to Moller and Allen (2000), children can express their own honest reaction to texts when teachers create "response development zone." In the excerpt above, as the teacher created comfortable atmospheres where the children could share their thoughts about Henry's

dark skin, Young was able to join Sue's imaginary world and created the story in collaboration with her. In Young's imagination, Henry must not have a sink at home because he was too poor to buy it: this response was similar with Young's previous remark that black people are dark because they are not financially affluent to buy a shade. By making this comment, it seemed that Young agreed with Sue's view of Henry as a toilet man. As Young supported Sue's view, Sue seemed to be more confident about her view of Henry as a toilet man.

At this point, it is important to note that Sue's negative response to Henry's dark skin was not a simple dislike for Henry because that was closely related to her *subject positions* that she acquired through social and cultural institutions such as family and schools. According to Bleich (1978), students respond differently to literary texts based on their beliefs and attitudes since their responses are created in a particular interpretive community. As indicated earlier, Sue had had very limited contact with other racial groups, especially African Americans. Sue also had never had a chance to talk about different skin colors at home. These circumstances could influence Sue's negative responses to Henry's dark skin.

In addition to Sue, the children's resistance to Henry was also noticeable in Jimmy's and Young's case. When Jimmy looked at the book, Jimmy also presented his strong resistance to reading it as follows:

- Jimmy: 나 저 책 싫어. [I don't like that book!]
- Teacher: 왜? [Why?]
- Young: (pointing at Henry's face) The color (of the boy's face) is kind of weird.
- Teacher: (to Young) color 가 weird 해? [So, you think that his color is weird?]
 왜 weird 한거 같아? [Why do you think so?]
- Young: Because skin color is not supposed to (look) like that!

Teacher: 그럼 skin color 는 어때야 되는데? [Then, what do you think that skin color is supposed to be?]

Young: ^더 light 해야돼요. [It should be lighter than that.]

In the excerpt above, Jimmy resisted the book, using Korean, but when the teacher asked Jimmy about the reason for his resistance, he was not able to answer it. However, the teacher's question was answered by Young. From Young's point of view, Jimmy might not want to read the book because Henry's skin color is not "normal." As indicated earlier, both Young and Jimmy's school populations and their living areas were mostly white-dominant. Also, they rarely had a chance to talk about race in their schools and homes with their family members since their mothers considered that preschoolers are too little to have any biased attitudes toward other racial groups. However, Van Ausdale and Feagin (2001) argue that preschoolers' prejudice is often more serious than that of adults. The conversation between the teacher and Sue about a black baby supports this argument.

Teacher: 그럼, 만약에 엄마가 이렇게 black 인 애기를 동생날으면 좋아 싫어? [Then, what if your mother brings a black baby as your brother?]

Many children: 싫어요! [I don't like it!]

Teacher: 그럼 white baby 는? [Then, what about a white baby?]

Sue: That's fine.

Teacher: 왜? [Why?]

Sue: 그러면 black 동생 street 에 가야돼고 그담에 die 해. [Because a black sister has to go to street and then die!]

Teacher: Sue 는 black 동생 싫어? [So, you don't like a black baby?]

Sue: ** ever given, then, I will throw her on the street.

Teacher: Throw on the street 할거야? 애기를? [Are you going to throw the baby on the street? You mean a baby?]

Sue: Yep. And she will die FOR EVER!

In this conversation, Sue expressed her reluctance to have a black sister, using both Korean and English. Sue refused to have a black sister since Sue considered that “being black” is related to “being a street person.” Sue’s reluctance to have a black sister was not due to a brother or sister per se because Sue clearly indicated that a white sister would be acceptable for her. It seemed that Sue did not want to have a black sister since, if she were black, her sister “should” eventually become a street person. Although she did not explain why her sister would end up as being a street person, it seemed that there was a correlation between skin color and being a street person. It was also notable that Sue was taking an active stance in expressing her reluctance to have a black sister such as “throwing a baby away,” rather than crying passively. This comment was particularly astonishing to me because it seemed that Sue did not have any sympathy for a death of a baby.

In addition to the children’s white dominant surroundings, their own preferences of color also could influence their negative responses to Henry. In order to make sure if the children’s negative responses to Henry’s dark skin was related to their stances to the color black itself, I asked them their preferences of color.

Researcher: 너희들은 흰색이 좋아 검정색이 좋아? [So, what color does you guys like, black or white?]

Children: 흰색! [White!!]

Teacher: 흰색이 좋아? 왜 흰색이 좋아? [White? Why?]

Sue: 왜냐하면 검은색은 너무 dark 하잖아. 그래서 아무것도 볼 수 없잖아. [Because black is so dark that I can’t see anything.]

Teacher: 지미는 흰색이 왜 좋아? [What about you, Jimmy?]

Jimmy: (with a loud voice) because it might be.. when I am black, I will be dark and be back and kill people with swords.

Teacher: 근데 왜 black people 은 killing people 할거 같아? [Why do you think that a black person will kill people with swords?]

Jimmy: (with a small voice) 왜냐면... black people 이.. 어.. swords 갖고 잘 싸우니까 [Because.. black people fights well with swords.]

According to Duckitt and Wall (1999), preschool children's preference for the color white is a product of society and history. When I asked the children about their preference toward the color black and white, most children demonstrated their inclination to the color white. Since the children's responses to black/white colors reflected a dominant image of color constructed in their specific social and cultural community, their negative view on the color white was related to their prevailing discourse of color in their community. For example, Jimmy stated using English that he preferred the color white because the color black is related to something dangerous: for him, "being black" provides the possibility to "kill people with swords." Jimmy's view on black people as hazardous was not a simple personal response because his view was closely related to how media has portrayed black people in US history. The next-sub section focuses the children's negative views on black people in relation to media.

Media influence. Rome (2002) argues that the media such as radio, television, and film often depict the images of African American with negative stereotypes such as black males as criminals or violent. Park (1997) also claims that, in the American history, blacks are often portrayed as violent through the media based on White perspectives. Given this situation, stereotypes of black people are pervasive in American society (Bishop, 1990; Harris, 1992). When considering the negative stereotypes of African Americans, Jimmy's view on black people could be influenced by dominant views of African Americans as violent through media. In order to understand Jimmy's exposure to media, I asked Jimmy's mother about his media-related experiences.

Researcher: 지미가 혹시 흑인이 violent 하게 나오는 영화나 오락같은거를 하는게 있나요? [Does Jimmy ever play video games or watch any movie that depict black characters as violent?]

Jimmy's mother: 특별히 그런건 없는거 같아요. 컴퓨터게임은 아예 안해요 [No. Not particularly. He doesn't even play video games.]

Jimmy's mother stated that Jimmy was not specifically exposed to media that portrayed black people as dangerous. However, when I asked the same question to Jimmy during break, he answered as follows:

Researcher: 근데 Jimmy 는 black people 나오는 컴퓨터 게임같은거 혹시 해? [Have you ever played video games?]

Jimmy: 음.. 나는 안해. 어 근데, 가끔 팀집에서 하는거 구경해. [Umm.. No I don't. But sometimes I watched Tim to play the game at his home.]

Researcher: 팀은 무슨 게임 하는데? [What does he play?]

Jimmy: (looking excited) Street fighter!!

Researcher: 거기 black people 나와? [Does it have any black characters?]

Jimmy: 응! (throwing fake punches in the air) 되게 잘 싸워. [Yep! He fights really well.]

Researcher: 아! 그렇구나. 얼마나 자주봤는데? [Oh. I see. How often did you see him to play?]

Jimmy: 그냥 몇번. [Just several times.]

In this conversation, Jimmy indicated in Korean that he sometimes watched his friend's playing the video game, Street Fighter, at his friends' place. In terms of this video game, 67% of educators and parents said violence is an issue, so it is inappropriate for young people (Common Sense Media, 2012). Considering this, Jimmy's stance towards black people as dangerous could be related to his indirect exposure to black characters as aggressive street criminals in media. That is, since his responses were shaped by bringing his memories of past experiences about people with dark skin, his comments were inevitably related to his social and cultural contexts.

The examples above indicate that, when the children responded to Henry, they brought their different experiences regarding people with dark skin, making personal connections to the character. Although the children exhibited their resistance to Henry at the beginning, their attitudes to Henry started to change as they engaged in Henry's story. The following section focuses on how the children's responses to Henry changed as the children had literary talks.

Exploring the Meaning of Freedom and Justice

Previous studies argue that literary talks about race can provide young children with a chance to be engaged in authentic discussions about race and justice (Allen, 1997; Copenhaver, 2000). In Ms. Park's classroom, the children were able to have a valuable chance to think about the notion of freedom and justice while they read the book together and had literary talks about Henry's life as a slave. The following sub-section discusses the children's talks about the term 자유[freedom].

Does 자유 [freedom] mean 우유 [milk]? Despite some children's resistance to the black character in the cover of the book, the teacher started to explain the title of the book. The following is a conversation between Ms. Park and the children when she introduced the title of the book to the children:

- Teacher: 이 책은 제목이 뭐야? [What is the title of this book?]
- Children: (reading the title) 헨리의 자유상자 [Henry's freedom box.]
- Sue: “자유상자”가 뭐예요? [What does “자유상자” mean?]
- Teacher: “자유상자”는 freedom box. [“자유상자” means a freedom box.]
- Sue: (looking confused) Freedom box?
- Katie: 자유는 머야? [What is “freedom”?]

- Sue: (with a loud voice) 우유! [Milk] (laugh)
- Teacher: 자유는 freedom 이야 [“자유” means “freedom”]. Freedom 들어본적 있어? [Have you ever heard of freedom?]
- Sue: Kingdom and that is freedom.
- Young: (with a curious look) A gas place Freedom?
- Teacher: 우리 자유라는거는.. 음..내 맘대로 할수 있는거야. 하지만 노예는 주인이 시키며는, “너 지금 가서 밥해와” 그러며는 다 해야 되는거야. 근데 자유라는거는 내 마음대로 할 수 있는거야. 내가 자고 싶으면 잘수 있고 밥먹으면 밥먹을 수 있고 [A freedom is.. umm.. it is the thing that you can do as you like. But, slave is.. if your master ordered something, such as you make food for me now, you had to do it. But, freedom is that you can do whatever you want to do. You can sleep if you want to sleep and you can eat if you want to eat.]

Freedom is a difficult concept to explore, especially for preschool children. When the teacher introduced the children the new terms 자유[freedom] and 노예 [slave], no children seemed to be familiar with those terms in both Korean and English. As it is a hard concept even for adults, the teacher also seemed to have some difficulty answering Sue’s question about the meaning of “the freedom box.” The term 자유 [freedom] was not familiar to Katie either while she was aware of the meaning of 상자 [a box]. With Katie’s question about freedom, the children tried to define it according to their background knowledge. For example, Sue tried to answer Katie’s question about the meaning of 자유 [freedom] by connecting the sound of 자유 [freedom] and 우유 [milk], as she found that both terms had the same sound “유[you]” at the end. Sue also enjoyed playing with words by connecting the sound of *freedom* to that of *kingdom*. On the contrary, when Young heard the term *freedom*, he tried to bring his past experiences relating the term, instead of focusing on the sound itself. In this process, he was able to remember a gas station named *Freedom*.

Although the children tried to understand the meaning of freedom by drawing their own background knowledge, the concept still seemed too difficult for most of the children. As Ms. Park acknowledged that the story of a young slave boy's seeking for freedom would be difficult for the children to grasp, she tried to rephrase the story as much as possible while reading. Yet, it still seemed not an easy task for her. When I interviewed her at the end of the class, she expressed the challenge to read those books to young children. The following is the example of this:

Teacher: 사실..처음에는 애들이 싫어하니까 어떻게 해야될지
 모르겠더라고요. 특히 “자유상자” 설명하는데 어떻게 말해야
 하는지.. 나도 그렇고 애들도 둘다 “머하는거지?” 하는 느낌?
(laugh) 사실 한 10 분동안은 그냥 다른책을 읽을까도 생각했지만
 그냥 계속 읽었어요. [I was like of embarrassed at first because the
 children showed resistance to the book. I was not sure what to do.
 Particularly, I was totally lost when I explained the meaning of
 “freedom box.” Both the children and I seemed like “what am I doing
 here?” (laugh). In fact, for the first ten minutes, I was thinking about
 stopping reading it and switching to a different book but I just kept
 reading.]

In this conversation, Ms. Park indicated that she got lost for the first ten minutes because she herself was not confident if five-year-old children were able to understand the meaning of freedom and justice. However, although most children looked confused at the beginning, as the story was developed, they paid more attention to reading the book. The following sub-section discusses how the children became more engaged in the story through their “creative participation” (Iser, 1978, p. 283).

Exploring the text through creative participation. Iser (1978) argues that, “as the readers’ conscious mind is activated by the textual stimulus” (p. 117), the unit of meaning is linked to the new reading moment, which is called a “wandering viewpoint” (p. 117). Wandering viewpoints permit the reader to travel through the text, and this “openness” results in

transforming reading into a fundamentally creative process. As young readers, the children in Ms. Park's classroom also creatively participate in reading by using their imagination. For example, Young's creative participation was evident when the children read the scene in which Henry did not know his birthday. The following is a conversation about Henry's birthday between Young and the teacher:

- Teacher: (reading) Henry brown 은 노예야. 자기 나이를 모르지.
노예들에게는 생일도 없거든. [Henry brown was a slave. They don't know their age because they don't have their birthdays.]
- Young: They don't know what their birthday is 'cause they were not born in the hospital or something. They were born.. umm.. only in their house. They don't know what date they were born 'cause they don't have a calendar.
- Teacher: 아. 그럴구나. 우리는 생일있어? [Wow.. I see. Then do we have birthdays?]
- Children: 네 [Yes.]
- Sue: Mine is ***.
- Teacher: 근데 생일이 없는 애들도 있었나봐. 헨리 브라운 처럼. 왜냐면 헨리는 노예였거든 [But, there must be some children who did not have birthdays, like Henry Brown, because Henry was a slave].

In this conversation, Young indicated in English that Henry might not be aware of his birthday because (1) his mother delivered him at home, and (2) Henry's home did not have a calendar due to his family's poor economic condition. When I connect this to Iser's notion of the "imagination" of readers, as the book invited Young's imagination into the text, he travelled through the text, and his creative participation helped him find the reason why Henry was unaware of his birthday. Remembering that babies are usually born in a hospital, Young seemed to think that Henry could not have been born at home due to Henry's family's poor economic condition. Although it is uncertain if Young related Henry's poverty to his skin color, it seems

that Young considered Henry as poor, although the book did not specifically talk about Henry's family's economic situation. That is, as the text deliberately did not explain why Henry was unaware of his birthday, this textual gap provided Young with the chance to actively engage in the story and picture Henry's life.

In addition to creative participation, the children's literary talks also helped the children to envision Henry's life as a slave. The following sub-section examines how their literary talks provided them with chances to understand what it means to be a slave.

Exploring the meaning of a slave. According to Rogoff (1990), children's learning is "an apprenticeship" because it occurs through "guided participation in social activity with companions who support and stretch children's understanding of and skill in using the tools of culture" (p. vii). In Ms. Parks' classroom, the children's active discussions using both Korean and English with the teacher and the peers provided the children with an opportunity to picture the life of slaves. This was particularly obvious when they talked about unfair treatments for slaves.

While some children such as Sam and Grace showed their disinterest in reading the book, Jimmy seemed to be a little bit interested in the story as the story was developed. The teacher explained the meaning of slaves by using the examples of the relationship between slaves and masters.

- Teacher: 노예는 주인이 시키는 대로 다 해야되는거야. 그래서 주인이 ok 해주지 않으면 먹고 싶은것도 먹을 수 없고 하고 싶은것도 할 수가 없었어. [A slave has to do whatever his/her master ordered to him/her. So, without his masters' permission, he could not do anything, including eating.]
- Young: So, a master is kind of king.
- Sue: ^왜요? [why?]

- Teacher: 왜냐면 노예기 때문이야. 노예라는 건 하고 싶은걸 마음대로 할수가 없거든. [Because he is a slave. Slaves were not able to do as they wanted.]
- Katie: ^우유는요? [Then, what about drinking milk?]
- Teacher: 주인이 ok 하지 않으면 우유도 먹을 수 없어. [You can't drink milk either if your master doesn't say ok.]
- Sue: (to Katie) 슬프겠다. [That must be sad.]
- Katie: (to Sue) I don't wanna be a slave!!
- Sue: (Thinking).....
- Teacher: 우리가 만약에 노예면 어떨것 같애? 그러면 좋을까? [How would you feel if you were a slave? Do you think that you will like it?]
- Sue: No.. (after for a while) ^근데 왜 헨리는 노예예요? [But, why is Henry a slave?]
- Teacher: 왜냐면 헨리는 노예로 태어났기 때문에 어쩔수가 없었어. [Because, Henry was born as a slave. So, it could not be helped.]

While listening to the teacher's explanation, Young tried to understand the relationships between slave and master by bringing his background knowledge about a king. Literary talks about the live of slaves also provided Katie and Sue with a chance to think deeply about what it means to be a slave, and that triggered the critical questions for Sue such as why some people such as Henry was not born with freedom. They could also have a chance to think about why some people were treated unjustly while having conversations about slave and freedom with the teacher and peers. As Henry's depressing story was developed, the children seemed to be more emotionally engaged in the story. The next sub-section focuses on the children's emotional engagement.

Emotional engagement. As the children's reading was more progressed, more children seemed to engage in the story. However, while the children made some responses to the book, Sam and Grace did not make any comments. Sam particularly did not pay attention to the book,

playing with his hands. Realizing this, the teacher tried to ask some questions to him while reading, but he often did not answer. Grace also seemed uninterested in reading and kept silent in most times. For example, when the children read the scene that described that some people poked Henry with a stick at the factory, the teacher asked the children about their feelings about people's awful treatments to Henry. While some children showed their feedback, both Sam and Grace kept silent.

Teacher: 우리도 이렇게 막대기로 쿡쿡 찌르면 어떨까? [How would you feel if some people poked me with sticks like that?]

Sue: ^아파요 [Feel hurt.]

Jimmy: (with an angry face) I hate it!

Teacher: (to Grace) Grace 는 어떨것 같아? [What about you, Grace?]

Grace: (no answer).....

Teacher: Henry 는 노래도 마음대로 부르지 못했어. 우리는 기분좋으면 노래도 부르고 그러는데 노예를 그렇게 못했나봐. 그러면 슬플거 같지 않아? [Henry even could not sing songs as his likes. We often sing songs if we feel good but slaves couldn't do that. Don't you think that it would be very sad?]

Jimmy: It's fine 'cause I don't like 노래 [singing a song]

Teacher: Sam 은 어떨것 같아? [How about you, Sam?]

Sam: (playing with his hands).....

As noticing both Sam and Grace's quietness, I asked them after the Story Time if they were not fond of the story. With my question, they answered as follows:

Researcher: Sam 은 책 재미없었어? [So, it seemed that the book was not interesting for you, right?]

Sam: (quiet)

Researcher: (to Grace) Grace 는? 헨리 이야기 재미없어? [Grace! Do you think that Henry story is boring?]

Grace: (with a quiet voice) ^몰라요.. [I don't know..]

Purves and Beach (1972) argue that students prefer reading texts with characters that are similar to themselves and their experience. Since the book did not reflect their experiences as Korean Americans, it was possible that Sam and Grace did not enjoy reading the book. This notion could also be understood in relation to Iser's notion of "the implied reader" (Iser, 1978). According to Iser (1978), an implied reader is a hypothetical reader who has "his roots firmly planted in the structure of the text" (p. 34). The implied readers for the book could be African-American children since it portrayed African Americans/culture. However, because the participating children had a Korean cultural background, there could be a significant discrepancy between the implied and actual readers. In this situation, it is possible that some children could not identify with any of the main characters, and that could cause their disinterest in reading the Henry's story.

While Grace and Sam did not pay attention to reading, Jimmy and Katie became more actively engaged in the story and emotionally involved as the story developed. For instance, when they read the scene that described how Henry's wife and children were sold, they paid special attention and made emotional responses.

Teacher: 어? 큰일났다. 헨리 wife 랑 아이들이 팔려갔데. 근데 팔려간게 뭐야? [Oh. No!. Henry's wife and his children got sold. So, what does "팔려가다" mean?]

Young: They got sold.

Jimmy: 왜? [Why?]

Teacher: Master 가 wife 랑 애들을 팔았데. [Their master sold his wife and children.]

Jimmy: ^왜요? [Why?]

Teacher: 왜냐면 개네들은 노예잖아. 노예들은 자기 맘대로 할수가 없어 Master 가 노예를 내 물건처럼 팔수 있었어. 우리는 내 물건 맘에 안들면 다른 사람한테 줄수도 있고 팔수도 있지. [Because they were slaves. Slaves were not able to do as they wanted. Master could sell their slaves like their own possessions. Like we sell or give our stuffs to other people, if we don't like them anymore.]

Jimmy: 근데 왜 팔아? [Then, why do they sell them?]

Teacher: 왜냐면 이제 필요가 없었어. 그럼 헨리가 기분이 어땠을까? [Because their master no longer needed them. What do you think Henry would feel?]

Some children: (with a quiet voice) Sad...

As the teacher pointed out that slaves were treated as property to be bought and sold, some of the students expressed their emotional responses to the character including sadness, sympathy, and surprise. Their responses were particularly notable when I compared them to their previous responses to Henry's distressing situation. In the earlier discussion, when the teacher explained that Henry was not able to do anything without his master's permission, no child showed any emotional responses to Henry. It seemed that they simply considered being a slave negatively. However, as the children confronted the situation in which Henry's wife and children were sold, they seemed more emotionally engaged in the story. Katie seemed especially involved in the story when she looked at the picture of Henry squatting on the corner.

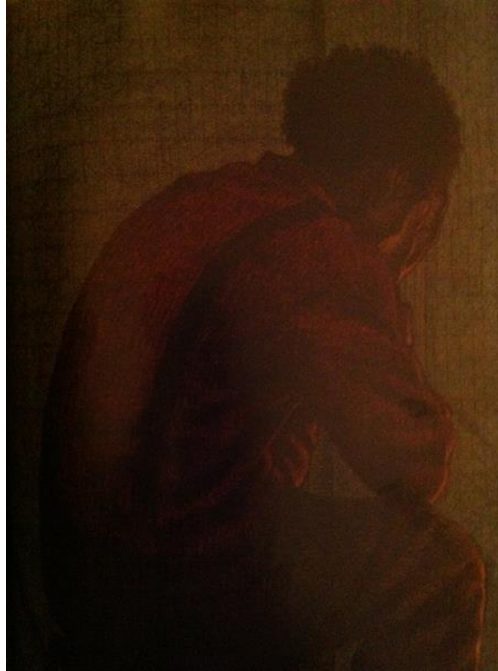


Figure 25. Henry's back.

While looking at the scars on Henry's back, Katie revealed her sympathy for him. It seemed that Henry's tragic story became somewhat painful for Katie. Moller and Allen (2000) adopted the term *engaged resistance* to describe that children's emotional responses to literature dealing with social issues are not always comfortable. They argue that engaged resistance plays essential roles in helping children to develop their responses "within a response development zone" (p. 152). In the excerpt above, as the children became more engaged in Henry's depressing story, they started to respond more frequently and ask more critical questions. For instance, when reading the scene in which some people were sold just like belongings, Jimmy asked critical questions using Korean such as why Henry's family was sold. As they emotionally engaged in the story, they were able to imagine the live of a slave, and that helped them to better understand notions of injustice.

These examples indicate that the children were not only cognitively but also emotionally involved in interacting with the text. In this process, the children sometimes personalized the

story. The following sub-section discusses how the children's personalizing the story helped them to understand the concept of injustice.

Exploring the concept of injustice by personalizing the story. As the story was reaching a climax, more children seemed to pay attention to Henry's story: Sam and Grace also started to show their interests in the book. The children's engagement in the story was particularly visible when the children started to personalize the story by talking about what they would do if they were in Henry's situation, a process which Sipe (2008) called "performative response." While reading the scene in which Henry's family was sold to the North, the teacher asked the children what they would do if somebody sold their families, and that triggered the children's intense discussions as follows:

Teacher: 그럼 우리는 어떻게 할까? [Then, how would you do if you were in that situation?]

Young: Fight him down.. until he dies!

Jimmy: 마차에 무슨 **를 박구.. 그럼 불이 나잖아. 그렇게 해서 도망가면돼. [We can use the wagon with **, then it will make fire. Then, we can run away.]

Sam: (drawing circles in the air) 이렇게 동그란.. 동그란 걸로 해서 도망가면.. [We run away using this circle.. circle thing..]

Teacher: (to Grace) Grace 는 어떻게 할거 같아? [What about you, Grace?]

Grace: (with a very quiet voice)... 그냥.. 도망가요. [Just.. run away..]

According to Sipe (2008), when children are deeply involved in a story, they enjoy creative and imaginary expressions by using texts as springboards. In this state, children are likely to directly interact with the characters because the boundary between the text and the children becomes blurred. In the conversation above, as the children became more emotionally involved in a story, they seemed to enter the world of the book, and created their different

imaginary worlds either individually or collaboratively. For example, when Henry's family got traded, Young seemed to feel anger about the situation, which was strong enough to make him want to fight with the man (probably the seller) until his death. While Young chose to confront the problem head-on, Jimmy, Sam, and Grace decided to avoid it. First, Jimmy chose to use the wagon to escape the situation. However, as Jimmy remembered that the regular wagon could not be a great help for Henry to run away, he thought of the wagon with special gadgets. With Jimmy's response, Sam joined Jimmy's imaginary world, and enhanced his idea by adding some details.

The children's collaboration was also observable when they anticipated Henry's decision in order to escape to the North.

- Teacher: 핸리도 부인이랑 딸이 보고 싶어서 이렇게 escape 하기로 결정했나봐. 근데 부인은 north 에 있구 나는 south 에 있어서 핸리가 어떻게 했을까? [It seemed that Henry also decided to escape because he missed his wife and daughters so much. But, his family is in the North and he is in the South. What do you think that Henry would do?]
- Jimmy: 자동차를 타고 north 로 가면 돼. [He can use the car and go to the North].
- Teacher: 자동차로 가면 들킬텐데. [But, in that case, he could be caught.]
- Young: At night!
- Jimmy: Through the wood!
- Young: (with a smile face) Daytime, stay quiet and then, night time, keep going.
- Teacher: 와~ night time 에는 keep going 하고 daytime 에는.. [Wow~. So, you mean that he could keep going during night time and during daytime..]
- Jimmy, Young: (with smile) Hide!

In the conversation above, the children were actively predicting the plot development. As realizing the geographically far distance from the South to the North, Jimmy indicated in

Korean that Henry might have been able to go to the North by car. However, as the teacher revealed her concern about that idea, pointing out the possibility of being caught, Young revised Jimmy's response, using English. In Young's imaginary world, Henry must have hid in the daytime and moved at night. While Young and Jimmy were speculating possible ways together, they were able to revise and develop their ideas in more detail, and through that process, they could find the most feasible method for Henry, which was "driving only at night." Both Young and Jimmy seemed to be satisfied with their collaborative ideas, making a big smile.

While the children shared their ideas, the teacher did not inform them that cars did not exist then. When I asked the reason for that later, she indicated that she did not want to interrupt the children's imagination.

The children's engagement was also observable when they anticipated the consequence of Henry's dangerous trip. The following sub-section elaborates the children's prediction about an ending of Henry's escape.

Anticipating the consequence of the story. Since Young and Jimmy predicted that Henry might go to the North by car, when they realized that Henry's decision was to mail himself to the North, instead of using a car, they seemed surprised. Other children such as Sue, Sam, and Grace also seemed to be astonished with Henry's decision, and they started to be curious about the consequence of the story. Below, Jimmy displayed his concern by predicting the consequence of Henry's escape.

Teacher: 헨리는 어떻게 했다면.. 이렇게 나무상자에 들어가서 자기를 mail 했데. 주소를 이렇게 north 로 해서 자기를 우편으로 붙였데. (turning over several pages) 이것좀봐! [What Henry did was that he mailed himself in a wooden crate to the North. Look at this!]

Jimmy: (with a surprised voice) 그래서.. 죽었어? [So... was he dead?]

Teacher: 글쎄.. 무슨일이 있었나 한번 보자. [Well.. let's see what happened.]

****Keep reading****

- Jimmy: (pointing at Henry in a small box) He is stuck in the small box!
- Sue: (pointing the picture of Henry upside down in the box) 이거봐봐!
[Look at this!!!] (chuckle)
- Children: (start to laugh)
- Teacher: 헨리는 이렇게 상자속에 갇혀서 기분이 어땠을까? [How do you think Henry might feel in a small box?]
- Young: ^답답해요. [Feel stuffy.]
- Jimmy: 그럼 더 큰걸 만들지. [He could have made a bigger box.]

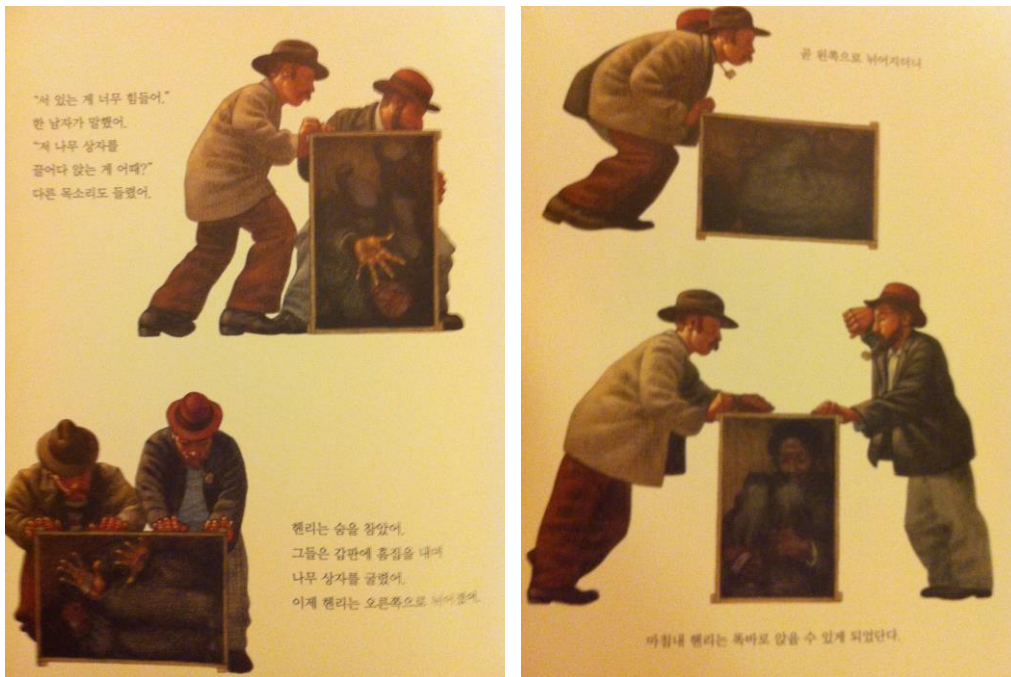


Figure 26. Henry in the wooden box.

As the children realized that Henry made an unusual and dangerous choice, they paid attention to whether or not Henry made a successful trip to the North. Most children seemed serious. However, when they looked at the illustrations that showed how people used the box with Henry to sit on and how Henry's positions in the box changed as people moved the box, Sue started to chuckle, pointing out the illustration, and her peers also started to laugh as well.

Noticing that the children were distracted, the teacher tried to focus their attention by asking questions about how Henry might have felt in a small box. With the teacher's question, Young indicated in Korean that Henry might feel stuffy. Young's response provided Jimmy with an opportunity to think about a solution of how Henry could reduce his stuffy feeling in the wooden box such as making a "bigger box."

By the time the teacher almost reached the last page of the book, the children seemed more curious about the ending of the story. When the teacher displayed the last page, Young looking serious, pointed to an illustration that showed a man with a hammer in his hand.

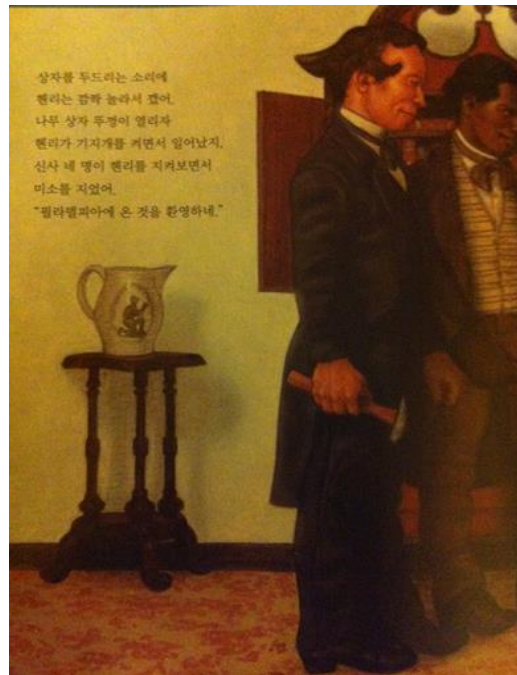


Figure 27. The scene that Henry arrived at the North.

- The teacher: 드디어 도착했나봐. 이제 어떻게 된거 같애? [It seemed that Henry finally arrived. Umm.. what do you think happened to him?]
- Young: (with a loud voice) Hammer!
- Jimmy: (with a small voice) 죽었다 이제. [Must be dead now].
- Young: (shaking his head negatively)

****reading the story****

The teacher: 헨리가 지금 온데는 어디야? north 야 [Where is Henry now? He is in the North!]

Young: (after for a while) ^사람들이 welcome 하고 있어요. [Yeah.. people are welcoming him.]

When Young found a hammer around the box with Henry, the children started to think the worst. Jimmy's response was particularly intriguing to me because Jimmy stated “죽었다” [must be dead] in Korean, but he did not specifically indicate “who” must be dead. His omitting the subject provided the possibility that Jimmy identified himself with the character as the world of the text became identical with his imaginary world. By personalizing the story, Jimmy was able to better understand how Henry might have felt when he fled from the South, stuck in a small box, and successfully arrived at the North.

After finishing reading, the teacher skipped a writing activity since there was not enough time left. Instead, the teacher had a short discussion with the children about the story. The last sub-section focuses on the children's talks after reading.

Discussions after reading. When the children and the teacher had a brief discussion about Henry's story after reading, Jimmy showed a somewhat changed stance towards black people.

Teacher: 헨리는 나쁜 아이였던거 같아? [So, do you think that Henry was a bad person?]

Children: No..

Teacher: 그치. 헨리는 착한애야. 얼굴 색이 검다고 나쁜건 아니거든. 우리가 왜 과일 색깔이 다 다르지? 그런것 처럼 그냥 얼굴 색깔이 다를 뿐이야. [Yeah. Henry is a good boy. A dark skin does not mean that he is bad. It is just a skin difference, just like we have all different colors of fruits around us.]

Jimmy: (thinking for a while) I MAYBE don't like him..

Teacher: 그치. 헨리는 그냥 우리랑 얼굴색깔이 다를 뿐이야. 다른건 나쁜게 아니야. 그래서 우리가 얼굴 색이 다른 친구를 많이 만드는데 좋은거야. [That's right. He has just a different skin color from us. "Difference" does not mean bad. So, it is a good thing that you make friends with people with different skin colors.]

Children: (thinking)

In the excerpt above, Jimmy indicated in English that he "maybe" does not care for Henry. When I measured this comment against Jimmy's previous responses to Henry, it seemed that Jimmy had started to doubt his negative attitudes towards black people as he had a chance to glimpse into the life of Henry. While talking about race and injustice with the teacher and peers, Jimmy could reduce his prejudice of a certain skin color. Other children were also able to think deeply about why some people were treated inadequately as they emotionally engaged in the text and indirectly experienced the lives of slaves. In this sense, the children's active engagement and their literary discussions provided the children with a valuable chance to think about the lives of people who were treated unfairly in American history.

Summary

This chapter discussed how the children responded to *헨리의 자유상자* [Henry's Freedom Box] (2008), and how their literary talks helped them to develop their emergent notion of freedom and injustice. While reading the book, the children connected their lives to the text as members of a family in a particular interpretive community. In this process, some children including Sue and Jimmy exhibited their preferential resistance to Henry. Yet, as the story developed and the children had literary talks regarding Henry's life, the children became more emotionally involved in the story, and the children's emotional engagement triggered their creative participation. In this process, they could envision the life of Henry, and that helped

them to better understand the notion of injustice. Also, while sharing their responses with peers about the cruelties of slavery using the two languages, the children were able to join each other's imaginary worlds, and that helped to broaden their responses. From this perspective, literary talks with the teacher and peers helped the children to develop their emergent notions about freedom and injustice.

The children's creative participation and their literary talks were also frequently observed when the children read other books. Among those books, the children's literary discussions were particularly noticeable when they read the English book *Chocolate Me!* (2011) by Taye Diggs. The next chapter discusses children's responses to the book *Chocolate Me!* (2011) and their literary discussions about different skin colors.

Chapter 7

Deconstructing the Text and Exploring Racial Diversity

Introduction

The book *Chocolate Me!* (2011), written by Taye Diggs and illustrated by Shane Evans, was introduced to the children in week 8 as the 6th reading. It was the most recent book used in this study, and there was no translated version written in Korean. The book dealt with the story of a boy who was ridiculed by other children about his dark skin. The book was based on the author's experiences of feeling different in a predominately white neighborhood, and trying to fit in as a young child. Compared to the previous books, the book had a less complicated plot with fewer words and colorful illustrations. Although the book was less recognized than the previous ones in both the US and Korea, we believed that supportive messages like "love what you see" would be helpful to increase the self-esteem of young children, especially ones who look different from their peers.

Since the book was written in English, the teacher read the book in English first and translated to Korean. When the teacher did not pronounce certain words correctly, Sue often joined reading and corrected her pronunciation. Because the teacher felt uncomfortable with that, she suggested me to read the English parts and she translated them to Korean: although I read English parts, Sue sometimes corrected my pronunciation as well. This chapter discusses what the children said about the book, and how the book was used as a tool to open their discussions about different skin colors.

Exploring Different Skin Colors through Literary Talks

As discussed earlier, talk with community members is an important element for children's learning to occur since children's learning always occurs within a broad sociocultural context, (e.g. Dyson, 1993; Vygotsky, 1978). While the students in Ms. Park's classroom had literary discussions with the teacher and peers, they were able to have a chance to develop not only their literary understandings of the book but also their emergent notions of racial diversity. This section focuses on how the children's literary talks about different skin colors help them to explore racial diversity. The first sub-section starts from discussing how the children predicted the story using the visual and verbal information of the cover.

Predicting the story using prior knowledge. As the story time started, the children tried to find their spots around the teacher's reading chair as usual: while Sue and Young looked excited, Sam and Jimmy seemed less motivated. Young, Sue, Katie, and Jimmy (from the left) ended up sitting on the front while Sam and Grace found their spots on the back. Every student seemed ready to read the book but Jimmy seemed not to be satisfied with his spot, complaining about the distance between the book and himself. With Jimmy's complaint, the teacher slightly rearranged the children's positions. As all children seemed prepared to read, the teacher presented them the cover of the book, emphasizing that the book was recently published.

The cover of book showed the smiling boy with dark brown skin with white teeth. When Ms. Park presented the cover page of the book to her students, the children looked excited with a smile. It seemed that they were particularly intrigued with the title of the book, which was "*Chocolate Me!*".

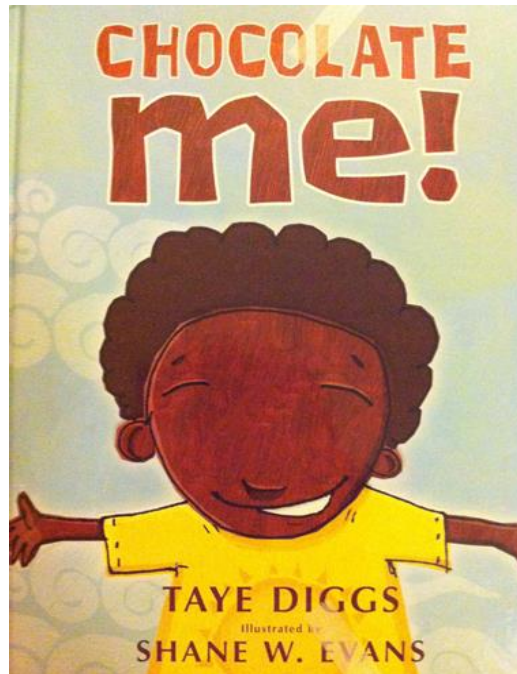


Figure 28. The cover of *Chocolate Me!*

Although Jimmy was the one who looked not motivated before reading, after looking at the cover of the book, he became excited, saying “chocolate me! chocolate me!” repeatedly. The boy’s skin color on the cover seemed pretty dark, but no children showed their resistance to his skin color. While showing the front page to the children, the teacher asked the children what the story might be about. With the teacher’s question, the children made different predictions based on the visual and verbal information of the cover. In sharing their predictions, most children used English.

Teacher: 자 이거 제목이 뭐야? [Ok. So, what is the title of the book?]

Children: (all together with a loud voice) Chocolate Me!!!

Teacher: 이거 무슨내용일거 같아? [So, can you guess what the story is about?]

(The children competitively raise hands)

Teacher: (pointing Sue) 응. 그래. [Ok. Sue.]

Sue: Maybe he is going around and he eats chocolate and every person and other people eat different.. umm..... candy?

Teacher: Good. Great guess. 또 딴사람은 어떤 내용일거 같아? [What about others? does anyone think differently?]

Jimmy: (with a loud voice) He is kind of bit himself!

(The children laugh)

Young: (with a smile) Because he is a chocolate!!!!!!

Teacher: Wow. 그렇구나. [I got it.]

Sam: (with a quiet voice in the back) He is a chocolate because he is brown!

Teacher: 오? 그래? brown 이라서 초코렛이야? [Oh. Really? He is a chocolate because he has brown skin?]

Young: All brown ‘cause his hair and his skin!

Jimmy: (with a smile) Not the shirt!!

According to Langer (1995), when readers approach to a text, they first are “stepping in” the text and establishing the content for their reading. In this level, readers often mobilize their prior experiences to understand the text. In the conversation above, Sue was “stepping in” the text by making an active prediction of the text. By using information provided by the text, she predicted that the story would be about a boy’s eating chocolate and others’ eating candies. On the contrary, Jimmy enjoyed more creative imagination, using “the set of clues” (Iser, 1978) such as “chocolate” and “me.” By connecting these two words, he playfully predicted that the story would be about the boy who eats himself. Although Jimmy did not specifically mention the reason of the boy’s odd behavior, the missing part was completed by Young’s participation. As Young recalled the sweet taste of chocolate, he anticipated that the boy’s weird behavior must be caused by the sugariness of chocolate.

However, Jimmy and Young's hypothesis was refuted as Sam brought up a new perspective. After speculating about the relationship between the boy and chocolate, using all information provided to him, Sam indicated in English that the boy was actually "chocolate" because of his dark brown skin. That is, while Jimmy and Young paid attention to the taste of chocolate, Sam tried to find similarity between chocolate and the boy's brown skin, focusing on the color of those two. Sam's participation was especially intriguing to me because he rarely made comments on books at the beginning of reading. With Sam's new perspective, Young supported his view by adding the boy's "all brown" characteristics such as his brown skin and brown hair. While the children predicted the story together, they were able to familiarize with what they would be reading, and it stimulated their interest in the book before reading the text.

With the children's excited faces, the teacher started to read the first page. The next subsection explores how the children's responses about different skin colors were socially constructed during reading the book.

Literary discussions about different skin colors. The children seemed to engage with the story from the beginning. For example, Sue pointed out the missing pages that the teacher accidentally skipped. Grace also paid attention to the book from the beginning with curious eyes. When the teacher read the children the first two pages, the children focused on the boy's different skin from other three boys in the illustration.

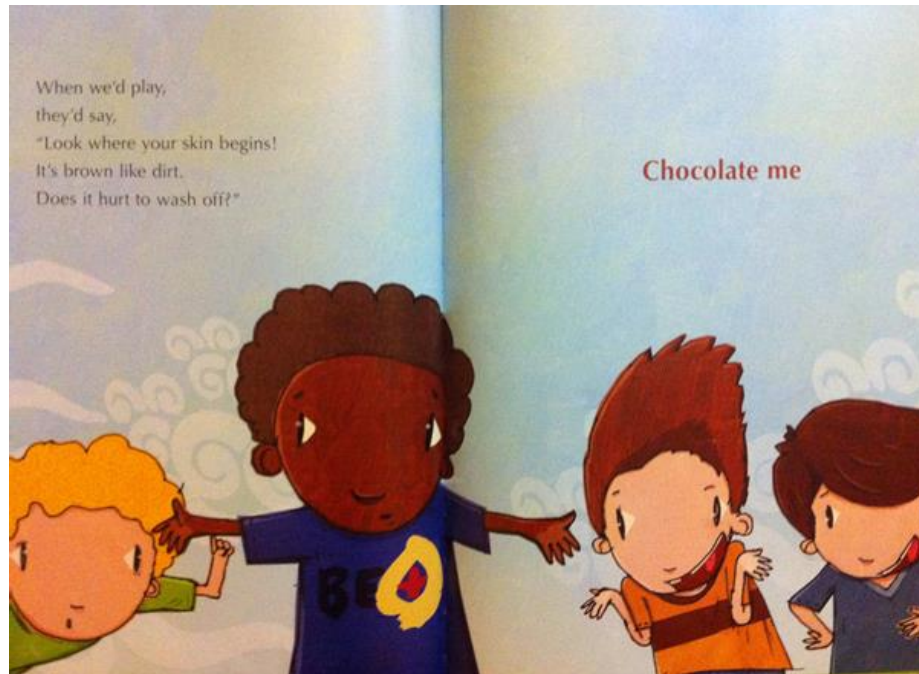


Figure 29. Three white boys and one black boy.

As Sue noticed the boy's different skin color from that of other boys, she brought up the issue of skin color, and her response initiated the children's discussions about their own skin colors.

- Sue: (pointing the boy with brown skin) Look at him. He is very~~ brown, like chocolate! (pointing other boys) They are more like us!
- Teacher: 그럼 우리 얼굴 색깔은 어떤데? [Then, what do you think of "our" skin color?]
- Young: Umm.. Pink!
- Sue: Light brown!
- Katie: (raising a hand) Peach!
- Jimmy: Umm.. banana!
- Teacher: (to Jimmy) Oh! Why do you think so?
- Jimmy: Because...it's kind of yellow.

As Sue brought up the issue of their own skin colors, the children started to have active discussions about what their own skin colors looked like, using English. For example, Young indicated that his skin color is a pink while Sue stated that it must be a light brown. Katie compared her skin tone to the color of fruits such as a peach. As Katie compared her skin color to that of a peach, Jimmy brought up his background knowledge about different colors of fruits, and he thought of a banana as a thing that represented his skin color. Jimmy's response was particularly intriguing because "a banana" is the term that is often used to tease Asian Americans with their characteristics of *being white inside but yellow outside*. With a curiosity, I asked him during break if he had heard about it from somewhere, but he indicated that he had never heard of it.

In addition, it is interesting to note that Sue indicated that the light skin color of boys was more like "us." Augoustinos and Rosewarne (2001) argue that children are social beings. Thus, once children realize human differences, they start to categorize their observations to make sense of the differences. As Sue realized human differences around her, she was categorizing her observations. For example, she was separating "people with dark skin" from "people with light skin." Then, she included herself and her peers into the category of people with light skin as she found out the similarity between her groups and the groups of light skin boys. Sue's including her group into the category of three white boys' group reflected that she considered herself to be more similar to white boys, than the black boy. This view could be supported by the interviews with participating parents. They indicated that their children did not seem to consider that they were different from other white peers. Although Sam's mother briefly mentioned some challenges of Sam's older sister as a student of color in her new school, most of them indicated that they had rarely noticed any discrimination-related issues at their children's schools. For

example, when I interviewed Grace's father about any discrimination issue in Grace's school, he answered as follows:

Grace's father: 저희도 체크를 자주 하는 편이거든요. 아시잖아요. 아시안계다 보니 미국에서는 이방인이니까. 혹시 학교에서 인종차별있었니? 인종까지는 아니더라도 애들이 왜 너 피부색이 그래 그런식의 얘기를 들어본적이 있냐구 물어보는데 그런거는 없다고 그러더라고요. 그냥 자기가 백인 아이들과 다르다고 생각하는거 같지 않아요. 아직 어려서. [In fact, since we are Asians, which means aliens in the US, we often asked Grace if she received any discrimination due to her skin color at her school, but she always answered negatively. I think that she does not consider that she is different from white peers because she is still young.]

In the interview above, Grace's father indicated that racial discrimination had never been an issue at Grace's school. The children's less exposure to racial discrimination at their schools could be interpreted in relation to the children's parents' social status in the US: as indicated earlier, all participating children's fathers had a higher education (a doctoral degree or up), and had promising jobs. As most participating children lived in supportive educational surroundings in a white- dominant area, it was possible that some children included themselves into the category of white people.

Yet, Sue's categorizing herself into the white boys' group does not necessarily mean that Sue considered herself as a white because she was still separating white boys from her group by referring the light skin boys as "they." That is, she was sorting three different groups by "people with dark skin", "people with light skin" and "us." Although it was not certain what she exactly meant by saying "us," it seemed that Sue wanted to distinguish the group of light skin boys from her "us" group by categorizing three groups.

It is also important to note that, although Sue distinguished herself from white people, she seemed not to have a negative view toward different physical features of white people such as blue eyes.

Teacher: 우리 eyes 색깔은 어때? [Then, what about the color of our eyes?]

Young: Brown!

Sue: No! Black

Teacher: 만약 우리 eyes 색깔이 blue 면 어때? [Then, how would you feel if the color of our eyes were blue?]

Sue: (smiling) That will be very fun.

In the excerpt above, Sue exhibited her positive views toward “blue eyes,” stating in English that having blue eyes would be enjoyable. This reflected that Sue was less resistant to features of white people. Sue’s favorable attitudes toward white people were also evident when the children shared their opinions about different benefits of different skin colors. The following-sub section focuses on the children’s discussion about the benefits/drawbacks of white/dark skin.

The benefits/drawbacks of white/dark skin. According to Eder (1990), preschool children acknowledge the differences of skin colors as well as the values that are placed upon them. When the children read the scene in which the boy started to have positive views about his dark skin color with his mother’s encouragement, Grace pointed out the benefits of having dark skin, using English. Grace’s pointing out the benefits of dark skin initiated active discussions among the children.

Teacher: 애는 지금 굉장히 dark skin 을 가지고 있다. 그래서 chocolate 처럼 sweet 한가봐. [The boy has a dark skin. So, he is sweet as chocolate.]

Grace: Actually, if you be dark, you protect your skin more.. better than white skin.

Teacher: Why?

Grace: Because sometimes you go to outside swimming pool, then you can get more darker!

- Teacher: 그치! [That's right!]
- Sue: No! (speak fast) light skin is better than dark skin 'cause dark skin is dark, and if you get dirt, you can't see it, so you might think there's no dirt and you might sleep without washing your face but white skin is white so if you get any dirt on, you can know it and..
- Katie: Because you can see it!
- Sue: So dark skin is bad. It is better white skin.
- Teacher: 그럼 dark skin 은 나쁜거 같아? [Then, do you think that dark skin would be not good?]
- Sue: ^네. white skin 이 더 좋은거예요. [White skin is better.]

According to Rosenblatt (1978, 1982), as readers interact with texts, the lived-through aesthetic experiences of readers are evoked by the text. As the book discussed the benefits of having dark skin, it evoked Grace's past experiences about people with dark skin in swimming pools. In this process, she was able to recall that dark skin people looked usually healthy, and based on that experience, she asserted the advantages of having dark skin, using English. With Grace's positive views of dark skin from the "practical" perspective, Sue also tried to think about hands-on benefits of dark skin. Yet, as Sue was not able to remember some benefits of dark skin, she opposed to Grace's view, using English. For Sue, it seemed that dark skin was not positive because people with dark skin would wash their faces less frequently than people with light skin do: Sue's view of the unsanitary condition of dark skin could also be related to her view of Henry as a toilet man.

There is also a possibility that Sue's preference for white skin was related to Sue's own skin color. According to Clark, Hocevar and Dembo (1980), young children's preferences toward race are related to their own skin color. Moreland and Hwang's (1981) comparative study of racial identity of 200 preschool children also demonstrated that children's racial identity and their racial preferences are closely related to each other. Sue's skin color was light brown.

That provided the possibility that Sue's preference toward light skin was influenced by her own skin color.

While Sue and Grace had debates about the practical benefits of having light or dark skin, Katie joined the conversation and supported Sue's view. Her joining of conversation ignited more intense debates as follows:

- Katie: Because.. (pointing the dark brown face of the boy) 여기 chocolate 이
물었는데 you can't see it! [Because here you got chocolate but you
can't see it.]
- Teacher: 그러면 white skin 이 더 좋은거 같은 사람? [Then, how many of you
think that white skin is better?]
- Sue: ^선생님! 여기 봐봐요. 여긴 다 보이는데 여기 초코렛은 다
못보이잖아요. [Teacher, look! (pointing at the face of boy with white
skin) You can see anything here but (pointing at the boy with dark skin)
you can't see chocolate here.]
- Teacher: 그럼 애는 더 wash face 를 자주해야 겠다. 그러면 더 좋은거야
나빠? [Then, it sounded like the boy with white skin has to wash his
face more often. Do you think that it is good or bad?]
- Sue: ^더 좋은거예요. 왜냐면 더 clean 하니까 더 좋아요. [Light skin is
better because it is more clean.]
- Grace: (raising her hand)
- Teacher: 아 그래? 그럼 Grace 는? [Ok. What about Grace?]
- Grace: ^아니예요. [No. It is not true.]
- Teacher: 오 아니야? 왜? [Oh. You don't think so. Why?]
- Grace: (with a quiet voice) ***ready for **
- Sue: (to teacher) No!! white skin is better than dark skin!

According to Beach (1993), the conflicting tensions among readers arise during a reading process due to "heteroglossia inherent in the transaction with texts" (p. 113). Yet, Beach argues that students are more willing to accept these tensions because they enjoy a dialogic perspective,

rather than monologic one. As both Sue and Grace were exploring “relations among voices” (p. 112), they seemed to entertain dialogic perspectives by rejecting a single, unified, and fixed perspective on dark and light skin colors. In the excerpt above, Katie supported Sue’s view in using both Korean and English. As Katie was on Sue’s side, Sue seemed to be more confident about the negative aspects of having dark skin. As becoming more assured, Sue tried to persuade the teacher, mostly using Korean. Grace tried to object Sue’s views, but Grace’s trial did not seem successful because her words were not clear and her voice was too small to be heard by other students.

With Katie’s joining the argument, Young also jumped into the conversation and expressed his view about which skin color would be more beneficial. This caused more heated debates among the children.

- Young: Umm.. I think that white skin is better.
- Teacher: (to Young) 왜? [Why?]
- Young: ‘Cause people tease people with brown skin.
- Katie: (pointing the boy of dark skin in the illustration) Because he has no nose and he has very white teeth and they teased him.
- Teacher: 그럼 다들 white skin 이 보다 dark skin 좋다는거 같다. [So, it sounds like most people like white skin, rather than dark skin.]
- Children: (nodding affirmatively)
- Sue: (with a loud voice) Yeah! White skin is better than black skin!!

While the three girls shared their different opinions about white/black skin, Young was also thinking about that issue, and he ended up taking Sue’s side. However, his reason for supporting Sue’s view was different from Katie’s. Young indicated in English that white skin was better than dark skin because kids with dark skin could be teased by their peers. Katie also agreed with him, pointing out the fact that the black boy in the book was teased by white boys.

With peers' support, Sue seemed to be more confident on her view of dark skin. Most of the children also seemed to be inclined to the negative views of dark skin as they discovered more persuasive reasons for the undesirable aspects of having dark skin.

The conversation above demonstrates that the children were acknowledging not only different skin colors around them but they also recognized the values of these colors. Through literary discussions with peers and the teacher about different skin colors, the children were able to have a valuable chance to deeply think about the benefits and drawbacks of dark skin and light skin. As the story progressed, the children became more involved in reading, and they sometimes deconstructed/recreated the text. The following section focuses on the children's deconstructing and recreating the story.

Deconstructing the Text and Recreating the Story

According to Sipe (2008), children's understandings of texts are malleable, like clay as children manipulate texts. As the children stretched and kneaded the text, the text worked as a platform for the children's own creativity. When the children in Ms. Park's classroom read the book *Chocolate Me!*, they used it as a platform for their flights. This section explores how the children manipulated the book as they creatively participated in reading.

Deconstructing the text: "we are vanilla!". The last page of the book demonstrated that the boy identified himself as chocolate as he found out his sweet characteristics like chocolate. The following is the discussion between the children and the teacher when they read the last page.

- Teacher: (With a smiling face) 애가 초코렛이래 [So, he is a chocolate~!]
- Sam: Because he is brown.
- Sue: ** chocolate ** eat us.

Teacher: (to Sue) 응? [what did you say?]

Sue: If we are chocolate..

Sue & Grace: (together) Everybody will eat us!

Children: Yeah! (laugh)

Jimmy: (looking excited and speaking slowly) I know I know..... our skin color is.. uh.. uh..

Sue: (interrupting) We can paint so brown....

Jimmy: (interrupting) Wait! wait! Our skin is a..... vanilla so... VANILLA. (with a loud voice and a big smile) WE ARE VANILLA!

Teacher: 와~ 그럴구나. 애가 chocolate 이면 우리는 vanilla 겠다. 그럼 “chocolate me” 가 아니라 [Wow~ That’s right. If the boy is chocolate, we are vanilla! Then, a title must be not “chocolate me” anymore]

Young: (with a big smile) “Vanilla me!”

When the children read the scene in which the boy identified himself as chocolate, Sue personalized the story by bringing up the issue of what she would do if she were chocolate like the boy. For the consequence of being chocolate, both Sue and Grace seemed to agree with each other, pointing out the possibility of being eaten by others due to its sweetness. The class was delighted with their responses. Their agreement was particularly intriguing to me because they exhibited their controversial ideas when they had discussions regarding the benefits and drawbacks of dark skin.

Sue and Grace’s cooperative and playful responses triggered more creative participation of their peers. For example, as Sue and Grace tried to apply the story into their own contexts, Jimmy could have a chance to approach the story from “their” views. By looking at the text from a different perspective, he was able to make a different version of the story that represented their skin color. This was a complicated process since it was conducted through multiple steps.

Jimmy first interrogated the similarity between the boy and chocolate, and after finding out the similarity between them (e.g. their sweetness and dark brown colors), he tried to apply this to their own contexts. In this step, Jimmy attempted to find something sweet that represented “his” skin color using his background knowledge and, finally, he was able to think of vanilla. In other words, Jimmy was deconstructing the story as an “Asian” version by using his creativity, playfulness and humor.

Jimmy’s new version was even more developed in collaboration with Young. Jimmy and Young’s collaboration could be analyzed in relation to Bakhtin’s notion of dialogic nature of utterance. According to Bakhtin (1986), there are two levels of dialogue: an internal level and an external level. He argues that, at an internal level, an intrapersonal dialogue is constructed, but it is closely related to the external social context. In responding the author’s utterance, Jimmy created his own internal dialogue by incorporating the author’s utterances. As Jimmy’s internal dialogue surfaced in his external social context, Young joined Jimmy’s imaginary world. Since the meaning of “we are vanilla” does not reside in words but in their particular social contexts, Young was able to create the new title for Jimmy, which was “vanilla me.”

The reciprocal nature of meaning construction could be also found from the children’s internal dialogues with the author. The following sub-section discusses how the children recreated the story after reading.

Retelling the story after reading. After the read-aloud, the teacher asked the children to summarize what the story was about. The following is the conversation between the teacher and the children after finishing reading:

Teacher: 누가 멋있게 얘기해줄사람? 무슨 내용이었어? [Does anyone want to nicely explain to me what the story was about?]

- Sue: (raising a hand and speaking fast) Those were the people with light skin teased the brown skin and then when he ate chocolate, every seemed not so smart and ** give him a hug and they licks.... they lick him so... they eat him all of chocolate.
- Teacher: 그럼 친구들이 chocolate guy 을 다 먹었어? [So, you mean that friends ate the chocolate guy?]
- Sue: 예! [Yep!] (laugh)
- Grace: (speaking fast) everyone.. umm.. boys were all light skin except for the poor chocolate. (noise) ** because the big nose and the big mouth and that was a big tease.
- Jimmy: (with a loud voice) They can sometime be like that!
- Teacher: 우리 이렇게 친구를 tease 하고 그러면 좋은 일이야? 이렇게 dark skin 가지고 있는애를 white teeth 하구 curly hair 이상해 그러면 좋은 친구인거 같아? [So, do you think that it is a good behavior to tease your friends because he/she has dark skin, white teeth and curly hair?]
- Young: 나쁜친구. [A bad friend.]

When the children were asked to retell the story, Sue and Grace tried to summarize the story based on the information provided by the text, using English: since the book was written in English, the children used English more frequently while responding to the text. In doing this, they looked fairly competitive by speaking very fast. Although Sue and Grace heard the same story, their summaries were somewhat different. For example, while both Sue and Grace mentioned the boy's tease due to his dark brown skin and curly hair, Sue's summary seemed more imaginative than Grace's: in Sue's summary, the boy's friends licked and ate the chocolate boy, although the boy's friends did not lick the boy in the original story. On the contrary, Grace tried to use information only provided by the text, avoiding the creative parts. In her story, the boy was teased because of his dark skin and big nose. Sue and Grace created meanings differently because meanings were not in the text but constructed by interactions between the text and themselves.

In the excerpt above, it was also noticeable that, as meanings are situated, not fixed, the children's responses to the author's main message were also diverse. When Sue and Grace summarized the text, Jimmy indicated in English that teasing among friends is sometimes acceptable. This comment could be comparable to his response to Henry's family's being sold. While Jimmy seemed pretty astonished by that fact that Henry's family was sold, this time, he seemed to think that teasing among friends would be not a big deal, if it occurs occasionally. With Jimmy's comment, Young exhibited his different opinions about it, indicating in Korean that teasing friends would not be an adequate behavior. This excerpt explains that, as the children were interacting with the author, they responded to the text differently based on their varying subject positions.

The social nature of meaning construction was also observed through children's "after-reading" activity, which was creating a mask. As the book was relatively short, compared to other books, the teacher prepared a mask activity for the second half of the Story Time. The last sub-section elaborates this.

Creating white or black masks. For the mask activity, the teacher provided the children with a thick, round shaped, blank paper with two holes for eyes, and some color pens and crayons. The goal of this activity was to provide the children with a chance to think about different faces and skin colors around them. While delivering a white paper to each child, the teacher stated that the children were allowed to create their masks with whatever color they wanted. As the activity started, the children started to color their masks. The following is the conversation occurred during this activity:

Teacher: 자기 맘대로 그려. 눈이나 코나 아무거나. Skin color 를 좀 dark 하게 하고 싶은 사람을 그렇게 해도 되구 light 하게 하고 싶은 사람은 하게 해도 되구. [You can draw whatever face you like. You

can have eyes, a nose or whatever. In terms of skin color, you can make either dark skin or light skin.]

Young: (speaking slowly) Can I borrow... somebody, light skin?

Jimmy: (coloring his mask with light beige) 내가 이거 다하면 줄게 [I will pass this later.]

Grace: (looking around) Anybody have light skin?

(Sue passed one to her)

Researcher: 음.. dark skin 은 아무도 없네 [Umm. We don't have any dark skin.]

Jimmy: ^우리 싫어해요. [We hate (dark skin).]

Teacher: (to Jimmy) 왜 dark skin 싫어? [Why you don't like dark skin?]

Jimmy: 몰라. 초코렛 물으면 잘 안보이잖아. [I don't know. Just can't see it if chocolate is on.]

(Sue started to color with black pen)

Researcher: (to Sue) Dark skin 그리는 거야? [Are you drawing dark skin?]

Sue: Dark skin 아니야. Light skin. [Not dark skin. Light skin.] (pointing the black parts) It's just hair.

Katie: (looking at Sue's mask) 나두 머리 그릴라 그랬는데. [I was supposed to draw a hair as well.]

(Young picked up the brown color and started to color it)

Researcher: (to Young) Wow. Are you making a brown skin?

Young: No! I am making brown hair!

As the activity started, the children competitively picked up the light beige crayons.

Some children who were not fortunate enough to get beige color crayons did not mind waiting until the other children finished using them. While observing the children's making masks, it was particularly intriguing to me that Grace colored her mask with a light beige crayon because she was the only one who exhibited the positive aspects of black skin in the previous discussion.

It was also noticeable that Jimmy said “우리 싫어해요” [we hate (dark skin)] because he used the pronoun “we,” instead of “I” in order to express his reluctance to create a dark mask. By using the collective pronoun “we,” he seemed certain that his peers also did not prefer a dark skin either. After ten minutes, all children ended up making all white masks, except for Sam: Sam created a red mask. Followings are masks that the children created during the mask activity (Note: Katie left early so that she was not able to finish her mask).



Figure 30. Sam, Sue, Grace, Jimmy, and Young's mask (from the left top corner)

As seen in the figure 30, no student created a dark mask. It seemed that the children's creating of white masks were related to their previous discussions about some disadvantages of dark skin. The children seemed to be particularly influenced by Sue's view: Jimmy stated in Korean that they were reluctant to create dark masks because such were invisible, which was exactly the same reason as Sue's preference for white skin.

However, although most children created white masks, this did not necessarily mean that they held negative views toward people with dark skin because their unwillingness to create dark masks was based on a practical point of view toward dark skin, rather than a negative “image” of the people. Previously, the children had resisted black characters for somewhat vague reasons (e.g. weird), but this time, they approached dark skin from a more realistic point of view. It seemed that they considered that white skin was more advantageous due to its benefits. In this sense, Jimmy’s expressing negative views toward dark skin does not necessarily reflect their aversion toward people with dark skin.

Summary

This chapter demonstrated the complexity and dynamics of children’s responses to the book *Chocolate Me!* (2011) within their social contexts. Before reading, the children were actively predicting the story by using information provided the text. As the children entered the world of the text, they tried to mobilize their prior knowledge accumulated in their daily lives. By bringing their background knowledge and using the text as a “platform,” the children deconstructed the text and recreated their own story worlds. Also, while reading, the children enjoyed multiple views on the benefits and drawbacks of dark skin and light skin by sharing their different ideas with peers and the teacher. In this process, they were able to have a chance to develop their critical views on different skin colors they encounter in their everyday lives. From this perspective, the children were not passively consuming the text but actively constructing meanings as they were interacting with the author, the peers, and the teacher within their socio-cultural contexts.

As the children read more social justice books, the children's resistance to black characters was visibly reduced. Instead, the children's negotiations of meaning were more frequently observed. The children's active literary discussions were more visible when they read *사라, 버스를 타다* (2004) [*Sarah, Rides a Bus*]. The following chapter explores how the children developed their emergent notion of freedom and racial segregation through literary talks while reading *사라, 버스를 타다*.

Chapter 8

Reading as a Social Act: Examining the Notion of Racial Segregation and Unfairness

Introduction

사라, 버스를 타다 (2004) [*Sarah, Rides a Bus*] was the 10th reading, which was the third to last during the observation session. It was the Korean translated version of *The bus ride* (2001), which was written by William Miller and illustrated by John Ward. Although William Miller was the award-winning author of numerous books for children in the US, his book had little attention in Korea like other social justice books used in this study. This fictional book, inspired by the real story of the bus boycott in Montgomery, AL during 1955-1956, dealt with the story about a young girl's small act to make changes. Based on the story of Rosa Parks, the book talked about the brave act of Sarah, who was not legally allowed to sit in the front seats in a bus. This section investigates the children's responses to the book *사라, 버스를 타다* [*Sarah, Rides a Bus*] and their literary talks with peers and the teacher about racial segregation, injustice, and unfairness.

Exploring Racial Segregation through Literary Talks

According to Young (1990), racial segregation is the separation of humans into racial groups in some activities such as eating in a restaurant, using a public toilet, and attending school. The book *사라, 버스를 타다* dealt the story of racial segregation in a bus context. In fact, racial segregation was already introduced to the children in week 5 through the book *The Story of Ruby Bridges* by Coles (1995). However, it did not work out well at that time since some children including Katie and Grace already knew the story as they had already read the book in their

schools: when the teacher showed the children the cover of the book, Katie and Grace told the children the whole story beforehand, and that caused most children to be uninterested in reading.

However, when the teacher showed the cover of the book *사라, 버스를 타다* [*Sarah, Rides a Bus*], no one seemed to be familiar with it. The section focuses on the children's literary talks about racial segregation while they read Sarah's story. The first sub-section starts from exploring how the children predicted the story when they looked at the cover of the book.

Anticipating the story before reading. When the Story Time started, the children tried to find their spots, and Sue, Katie, Sam, and Young (from the left) sat in the front while Grace, and Jimmy sat in the back row. Most of the children looked excited since Ms. Park promised the children that they would play outside after the Story Time. While the teacher slightly rearranged her seat, Sue asked the teacher what book they would read. With Sue's question, the teacher exhibited the cover of the book, which showed a black girl who was standing in front of a bus:

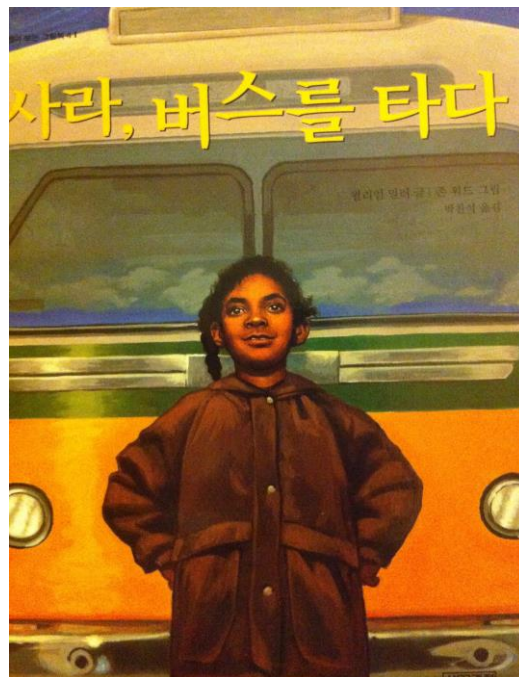


Figure 31. The cover of *사라, 버스를 타다* [*Sarah, Rides a Bus*].

When the teacher presented the children the cover of the book, some children read the title of the book with a quiet voice.

Teacher: 오늘은 선생님이 이책 읽어줄거야. 이 책 본 적 있는 사람? [I am going to read this book today. Does anyone ever read this book before?]

Children: (shaking their heads)

Young: (read the title with a quiet voice) 사라 버스를 타다. [Sarah rides the bus.]

Teacher: 우리 같이 제목 읽어볼까? [What about reading the title together?]

Children: (children read the title together) 사라 버스를 타다! [Sarah rides the bus!]

Teacher: 그치. 애이름이 사라래. 근데 애는 얼굴 색깔이 어때? [Good. Look at her. Her name is Sarah. What do you think her skin color is?]

Sue: Dark brown.

Young: African American.

Teacher: 와~ 그럴지! [Wow, that's right!]

When the teacher asked the children about Sarah's skin color, Sue stated that Sarah has dark brown skin, and Young tried to answer the teacher's question more specifically, saying "African American." Both of them did not exhibit any emotional response to Sarah's dark skin. These responses were particularly noticeable when I compared those to the children's responses to Henry's dark skin at the beginning of the semester. At that time, most of the children made frowning faces, exhibiting their resistance to Henry's dark face on the cover of the book. However, this time, the children did not specifically exhibit their resistance to Sarah's dark skin color. Although the degree of darkness of Sarah's face in the illustration was slightly less dark than Henry's, Sarah's skin was still dark but no student presented any negative views toward her dark skin.

It was also interesting to note that Young called Sarah as “an African American” because the children usually referred to African American characters in the illustrations as “brown/black skin.” However, as the teacher used that term more frequently, some children including Young and Jimmy started to use the term “African Americans” to indicate black people. When I asked Ms. Park if she intentionally used the term more often, she answered as follows:

사실 처음에는 “African American” 이라는 단어를 되도록이면 안쓰고 싶었어요 왜냐면 설명하기가 너무 어렵더라구요 더구나 애들한테. 사실 그 먼가.. “define”한다는게 사실 되게 어려잖아요. 특히 사랑이나 행복 머 그런 추상적인단어들일땐 더 그럴지만. “한국사람” “흑인” 이런걸 어떻게 정의해요. 근데 보니까 애들이 African American 이란 단어를 슬슬 이해하는거 같더라구요. 그니까 나도 더 자주 쓰게 되고. 사실 특별히 설명도 안했는데 왜냐면 African American 은 이렇다 저렇다 하면 그게 또 괜히 선입견을 일으킬수도 있잖아요. 무슨말인지 아시죠. 그래서 그냥 자연스럽게 했는데 애들이 책을 읽으면서 자연스럽게 배운거 같아요. 왜 아시다피피 Young 이 처음에는 African American 이랑 Chinese 랑 구별을 못하는거 같더니 지금은 인도나 다른 얼굴이 검은 사람들은 African American 이라고 부르지 않잖아요. 그냥 그렇게 자연스럽게 배운거 같아요. [In fact, at the beginning of the semester, I didn’t want to use the term, African Americans because I had a hard time explaining to young children what “African Americans” means. I think that defining something is a very difficult task, especially when the term is abstract, like happiness or love. How can we define a Korean or an African American? (pause) But I started to use the term more frequently as I noticed that the children seemed to understand its meaning, although I did not specifically explain to them about some kinds of common characteristics among African Americans. In fact, I didn’t do that because I worried about the possibility that it could cause some children to have stereotypical attitudes toward African Americans. You know what I mean? So, I just thought that it would be better that the children understand the term naturally through reading books, and I think that it worked! As you know, at the beginning, Young seemed to consider Chinese as African Americans, but now Young doesn’t call other racial groups with dark skin (like Indians) “blacks” or “African Americans.” I think that the children came to understand the term very naturally.]

In the excerpt, the teacher indicates that, as the children were interacting with the books that had African Americans as main characters, they were able to learn the term *African Americans* naturally.

In addition, as the children were exposed to people with dark skin through the semester, they seemed to consider dark skin as “normal.” The children’s changed attitude toward dark skin

was also obvious when they anticipated the story and shared their opinions. After having a brief talk about Sarah's skin color, the teacher asked the children what the story would be about, and the children started to predict the story differently.

- Teacher: 이 책은 무슨 이야기 일거 같아? [Can you guys guess what the story is about?]
- Sue: ^어.. 사라가 버스를 타고 놀러가요. [Well.. Sarah is going out to play by bus.]
- Teacher: 어디로? [Where?]
- Jimmy: No! She is going to school!
- Sue: (with a loud voice) No! I think she is going to..... (looking not confident) a park? (smile)
- Teacher: 어. 그럴구나. 그럼 새라가 지금 어디가는지 한번 읽어보자. [Ok. Great guess. Then, let's read together to see where Sarah is going now.]

In this conversation, the children tried to anticipate the story by using information that the text provided them. Since the illustration showed Sarah and a bus, Sue predicted that the story would be about Sarah's going somewhere to play by bus while Jimmy was expecting that the story would be related to Sarah's going to school. As Jimmy refuted Sue's idea, Sue was trying to convince her idea to her peers by pointing out a more specific place. Although Sue and Jimmy expected different destinations, both of them assumed that the story would be about a young girl's going somewhere by bus, rather than something related to Sarah's dark skin. This reflected that, for these children, dark skin was not a unique thing anymore.

Since most of the children approached black skin as normal, when they read about unfair treatment of black people in the bus, they looked more surprised and confused. The next subsection discusses how the children responded to unreasonable treatment to Sarah in the bus, and how their literary talks helped them to better understand the notion of racial segregation.

Exploring the notion of racial segregation. When the children read the scene that described that the bus driver stopped the bus, and called the police due to Sarah's refusal to go to the original seat, they seemed puzzled. The illustration showed the irritated bus driver and Sarah sitting in the front seat in the bus.



Figure 32. Sarah and the upset bus driver.

While reading the scene, most children seemed to understand that Sarah was in trouble, but they looked perplexed about what caused Sarah to be in trouble. As the teacher noticed the children's confused faces, she stopped reading and asked questions:

Teacher: 지금 무슨일이 벌어지고 있는거 같아? [So, what is going on now?]

Jimmy: ^차를 세웠는데 안내렸어요. [(The bus driver) stopped the car but (she) didn't get off.]

Teacher: 그치? 왜 버스 아저씨는 화가 난거 같아? [Yeah. Then, why was the bus driver angry?]

Young: ^왜냐면.. 아저씨 말을 듣지 않고 back 에 가지 않았어요. [Because (she) didn't listen to the bus driver and refused to move to the back seat.]

Teacher: 근데 왜 사라는 아저씨 말을 듣지 않고 back 으로 안간거같아? [Why do you think that Sarah didn't move to the back seat?]

Children: (quiet)

Teacher: 그럼 왜 사라는 버스 front seat 에 앉고 싶어했어? [Then, why do you think that Sarah wanted to sit in the front seat?]

Sue: Because she wanted to see if something special!!

Teacher: 그치. 그래서 앞자리에 앉았더니 special 했어? [Right! So, how was the front seat? Was it special?]

Young: No..^그냥 똑같았어요. [No. It was just the same.]

Teacher: 근데 왜 아저씨는 앞자리에 앉지 말라고 했을까? [Then, why was the bus driver not allowed Sarah to sit in the front seats?]

Children: (thinking)

Teacher: 지금 사라는 왜 버스아저씨한테 혼나고 있는거 같아? [Why do you think that the bus driver is angry to Sarah?]

Children: (silent)

Young: (after for a while) I think he is angry, MAYBE because she isn't yield the seat.

Teacher: 아! Yield 하지 않았어? Yield 를 누구한테 안했는데? [Oh! So, she didn't yield the seat? She didn't yield to whom?]

Young: To older people!

Teacher: 아 그럴구나! 와 Young 이 아주 멋진 생각을 했구나. 근데 한국에서는 어른한테 자리를 양보해야 되는데 옛날 미국에서는 자리를 어른한테 yield 하지 않는다고 문제가 되지는 않았데. [Oh. I see! Wow, your idea is great! That is right. In Korea, you should yield your seats to elderly people but, a long time ago in the US, your refusal to yield your seat to them did not make any problem.]

In the excerpt above, the teacher asked the children many thought-provoking questions, and it provided them with a chance to think deeply about what happened in the bus and why

Sarah was not allowed to sit in the front seats. According to Beach (1993), when reading texts, readers apply a range of different schema to understand what is happening. Beach argues that readers store schema in their memory as “scripts,” and when they read texts, they search their scripts that might be appropriate for understanding the text. For the children in Ms. Park’s classroom, it seemed that the children had difficulty in understanding Sarah’s problem because, according to their scripts, sitting on the front seats was not a negative behavior. Since the children were not able to understand the situation, they tried to apply different scripts brought from different cultural frames. For instance, as Young was confused about why Sarah was in trouble, in order to understand Sarah’s situation, he attempted to make sense of Sarah’s situation by using schema brought from the Korean culture. In the Korean society, young people are often encouraged to offer their seats to elderly people because Korea is strongly influenced by Confucianism (Cho & Apple, 2003). As a member of a Korean community, Young seemed to acknowledge this Confucian value. In order to understand Sarah’s problem in the bus, he tried to bring scripts from the Korean cultural frame, and by using those scripts, he was recreating the story. In his new story, Sarah’s problem was not simply caused by her sitting in the front seats. It was also caused by her refusal to yield her seat to elderly people in the bus. As Young brought up the issue of offering seats, the teacher tried to explain that yielding seats to an elderly person is the courtesy in Korea but not in the US. This provided Young with a chance to think about how certain acts are approached differently in different times and different locations.

In addition to Young, the other children also attempted to make sense of the text, and this was evident when they read the scene in which police officers came to the bus. Looking at Sarah with police officers in the illustration, the children seemed more engaged in the story. For example, Sam made prediction about what might happen next for Sarah:

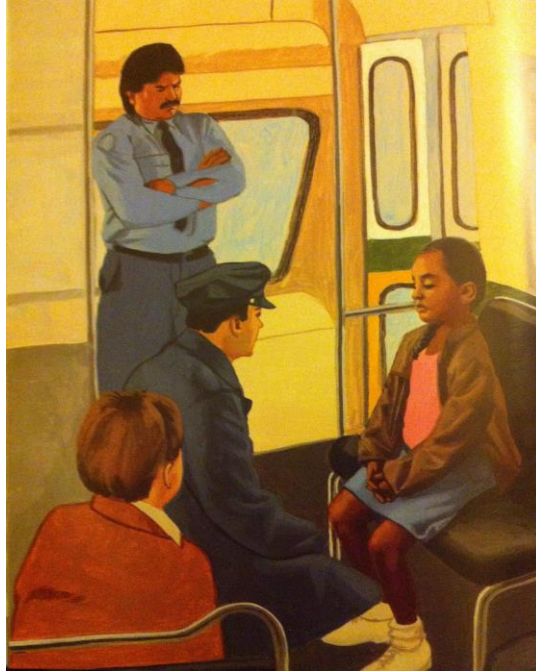


Figure 33. Police officers and Sarah in the bus.

- Sam: (with a quiet voice) She will go to jail.
- Teacher: 그치. 지금 사라는 jail 에 갈 수도 있어. 근데 우리는 어떻게 생각해? 사라가 잘못된거 같아? [Right. Sarah can go to jail. But, what do you think about it? Do you think that Sarah did wrong?]
- Children: (thinking)
- Teacher: 우리 front seat 에 앉는건 나쁜 일이야? [Do you think that sitting in the front seats is a bad behavior?]
- Some children: (shaking their heads negatively) No..
- Teacher: 그치? 근데 사라는 front 에 앉으면 안됐어. 근데 왜? 왜 사라는 front seat 에 앉으면 안됐을까? [Right. But, Sarah was allowed to be seated only in the back. Why? Why was she not allowed to sit in the front of the bus?]
- Young: Because she has dark skin.
- Jimmy: (with a loud voice) I actually don't know. (looking confused) Because she is black?
- Teacher: 그럼, 왜 black people 은 앞자리에 앉으면 안되는데? Black people 은 무슨 문제 있는거야? [Then, why do you think black

people were not allowed to be seated in the front? What is wrong with black people?]

Children: (thinking)

When Sam looked at the illustration of several police officers around Sarah, he stated in English that Sarah would go to jail. Sipe (2008) argues that, while reading a storybook, young children adopt “analytical stance toward illustration” and relate the illustrations to the verbal text. By using his “visual semiosis” (p. 184), Sam tried to make a prediction about what would happen in the story.

As Sam brought up the issue of jail, the teacher asked the children some challenging questions such as if sitting in the front seat in a bus gives logic to go to jail, and why some acts are forbidden to black people. With the teachers’ questions about the validity of Sarah’s behavior, the children were silent. It seemed that they struggled to make sense of the Sarah’s situation. The teacher used this silence as a teachable moment. The next sub-section discusses how the teacher utilized this moment as a chance to help the children to develop the emergent notion of fairness.

Guided participation and investigating fairness through literary talks. Literature discussions generate children’s multiple responses by enhancing their relationships with books (Martinez-Roldan, 2005; Moller & Allen, 2000). The children in Ms. Park’s classroom were able to develop the notion of fairness as the teacher created atmosphere in which the children could share what they thought about Sarah’s unfair situation. In order to open discussions about the unfair condition in the bus, the teacher first tried to help the children to reflect on their own bus-related experiences:

Teacher: 우리 버스 타본적 있는 사람? [Do any of you have a chance to ride a bus?]

Jimmy: (raising a hand) Sometimes 버스타. [(I) sometimes ride a bus.]

Sam: 나도!! [Me too!!]

Teacher: 버스 탈때 우리 앞에 앉아도 돼? [When we ride a bus, are we allowed to sit in the front seats?]

Jimmy: (with a loud voice) 난 앞에 앉았어!! [I have seated in the front seats!]

Teacher: 그치. 우리는 아무데나 내가 앉고 싶은 자리에 앉아도 돼. 근데 옛날에는 이렇게 **white people** 은 앞자리에 앉고 **black people** 은 뒤자리에만 앉을수 있었어. 버스에서만 그런게 아니라 식당에서 밥먹을때, 파운틴에서 물먹을때, 화장실갈때, 학교에서도 흑인이랑 백인은 이렇게 따로 있어야 했었데. 우리는 이렇게 얼굴 색이 검다고 식당에도 못들어가게 하고 그러면 기분이 어떨까? [Right. We can seat wherever you want. But, a long time ago, black people were to sit only in the back of the bus, while white people sit in the front of the bus. Black and white people also should be separated in other situations such as eating in a restaurant, drinking from a water fountain, using a public toilet, and attending school. How would you feel if you are not allowed to go to a certain restaurant because you have a dark skin color?]

Young: Sad.

Sue: (with a quiet voice) ^나빠요 [feel bad]..

By asking questions related to the children's own experiences in the bus, the teacher attempted to help them to better understand the issue of racial segregation. When the teacher described that black people should be separated from white people in transportation, public accommodations, recreational facilities, and schools, the children attentively listened to the teacher's words. The children looked somewhat serious when the teacher asked questions to them about how they would feel when something is forbidden to them because of their skin colors. As the conversation between the teacher and the children was developed, Katie joined it, and asked the teacher about a more fundamental question as follows:

Katie: 근데 왜 dark skin 은..[But, why people with dark skin..]

Young: (To Katie) African American.

- Katie: 근데 왜 African American 은 front seat 에 못갔어? [But, why were not African American people allowed to go to the front seat?]
- Teacher: 왜 안 됐냐면 옛날에는 그렇게 흑인들은 뒤에만 탈수 있구 앞에는 못타구 그런 룰이 있었데. 우리 학교에도 룰이 있지? [It was because, a long time ago, there was “a rule” in the bus that black people sit in the back and white people sit in the front. We have rules in schools too, right?]
- Young: Like no fighting.
- Teacher: 그치. 그렇게 fighting 하구 그러면 안돼는 룰이 있는것 처럼 옛날에 hundreds of years ago 때는 그게 룰이 었어. [Right. Just as we have the rule of “no fighting” at school, a hundred years ago, that (seating separately) was a rule.]
- Researcher: 그럼 그 룰은 어때? Make sense 해? [Then, what do you think about that rule? Does it make sense?]
- Young: No.. it is unfair.
- Teacher: 그치 it is unfair 해. 사라는 어리지만 그 룰이 마음에 안들었어. 그래서 she fight against the rule 할려구 back seat 에 가지 않았어 [Right. It is unfair. Although Sarah was young, she didn’t like that rule. So, in order to fight against the rule, she refused to move to the back seat.]
- Katie: ^왜 그게 룰이에요? [But, why was it the rule?]
- Teacher: 왜냐면.. 옛날에는 white people 이랑 black people 이랑 같이 앉는거를 싫어해서 룰을 만들었데. [Because, a long time ago, white people and black people didn’t want to seat together so that they made the rule.]
- Katie: ^ 왜 싫어했는데요? [Why did they hate each other?]
- Teacher: (looking embarrassed) 음.. 글썸.. [umm.. well..]

As Katie was still confused of why people with dark skin should be separated in the bus, she asked the question about it, using both Korean and English. With Katie’s question, Young corrected her term “dark skin” to a more appropriate term “African Americans.” According to Rogoff (1990), children’ learning occurs through “guided participation in social activity with

companions who support and stretch children's understanding of and skill in using the tools of culture" (p. vii). Rogoff explains that "social companions" can be both adults and skilled peers (equal in skills or even one less advanced). When Katie called African Americans "dark skin," Young tried to serve a function like that of adults by correcting Katie's term. Also, when the teacher tried to explain segregation laws to the children by making comparison with school rules, Young joined the teacher and provided his peers with one of the common examples of school rules such as "no fighting." With Young's support, Katie had a chance to speculate about the validity of rules, and it led Katie to raise a more fundamental question such as "why people made that rule." Such discussions helped the children to think about the notion of unfairness and the issue of racial segregation.

However, Young's serving as Katie's "skilled peer" does not mean that their interactions were unidirectional. Rogoff (1990) states that learning is "multidirectional, rather than aimed at a specific endpoint in a unique and unidirectional course of growth" (p. 12). The relationship between Young and Katie was not unidirectional because, through social interactions with Katie, Young could also have an opportunity to develop his own ideas about racial segregation. That is, while Young was actively conversing with Katie about the unfair rule in the bus, he had a valuable opportunity to think deeply about how black people were discriminated by a certain "rule," and why black people were prohibited to do certain things. Through this critical thinking, Young was able to understand that not every rule is "fair."

In addition to Katie and Young, literary talks also worked as a crucial role for the other children to develop their notion of fairness. For example, the conversation about the old rules helped Jimmy to ponder about unfairness of those "old rules," and it led Jimmy to raise critical questions about when those rules were changed.

- Jimmy: 근데.... 언제 그게 바뀌었어? [Then, when was the rule changed?]
- Young: Martin Luther King Jr.
- Teacher: 그치. 와~ Young 이 잘 알고 있구나. Martin Luther King 이 막 싸웠지. 흑인들이 African American 들이 막 싸웠어 [Wow. Young knows a lot. Right. Martin Luther King fought against the rule with African Americans.]
- Young: ** 한번 war 해서 됐는데 Martin Luther King Jr.가 jail 로 데려갔어 [Because of **, one time, there was a war and Martin Luther King Jr. was brought to jail.]
- Jimmy: (with a loud voice) 아니야!!! 어... gun 으로 머리에 맞았어. [No! uh.... he got a gun shot in the head.]
- Researcher: 와~ 어떻게 알았어? [Wow, how did you know that?]
- Young: (smiling) ^학교에서 배웠어요. [I learned it at school.]

When Jimmy asked the question using Korean about when the rule was changed, Young jumped into the conversation and tried to answer it in English. In answering the question, Young attempted to point out the person who made a great contribution to change the rule, instead of the time when the rule was changed. As the teacher agreed with Young, he was more encouraged to inform the children of who Martin Luther King Jr. was. Although Young's Korean was sometimes not grammatical, he tried to point out something related to him such as a war and jail, using both Korean and English. However, noticing that Young's information was not correct, Jimmy tried to modify Young's information, using Korean. Through Young and Jimmy's collaborative participation, the children could better understand some historical incidents related to Martin Luther King in the US.

The examples above indicate that, as the teacher created a safe space for the children to share their thoughts and responses, the children deeply engaged in the story, and that provided them with a chance to explore their emergent notion about fairness. The next section focuses on

how the children's creative participation helped them to think beyond the text and develop their emergent notions of racial segregation and fairness.

Thinking Beyond the Text through Creative Participation

According to Langer (1992), there are a series of stances readers take toward texts. First, readers use their prior knowledge and experiences to make contacts with the text world. Then, as they are “being in and moving through an environment” (p. 40), readers become immersed in the text. As the children in Ms. Park's classroom read more, they were deeply engaged in the story and caught up in the narrative of the story. For example, when the children looked at the illustration in which Sarah was in a police office, the teacher asked the children how they would react if a bus driver did not allow them to sit in the front seats because of their skin colors, and the children started to share their opinions about how they would handle the situation.

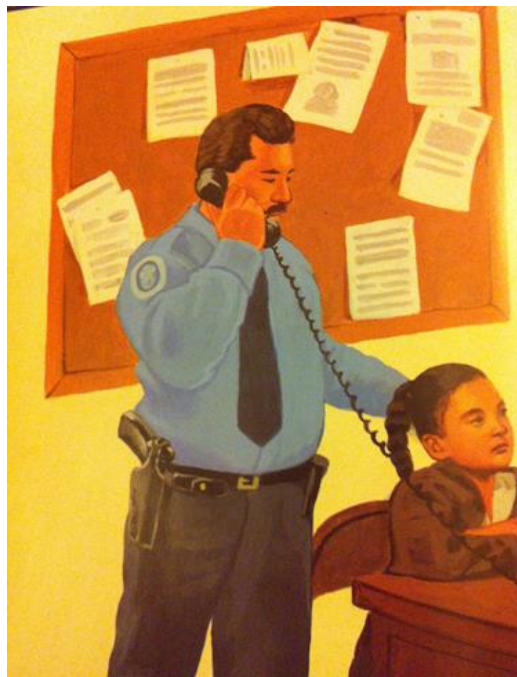


Figure 34. Sarah in the police office.

- Teacher: 근데 우리가 이렇게 버스에 탔는데 “너는 skin color 가 dark 하니까 앞에 앉지마” 그러면 우리는 어떻게 할거야? [What would you do if a bus driver said “your skin color is dark so you can’t sit in the front”?]
- Children: (thinking)
- Jimmy: (Nodding resignedly) All right. (I might give up sitting in the front)
- Young: Paint yourself white!
- Children: (nodding affirmatively)
- Teacher: 와! 좋은 생각이네. 그럼 우리 페인트로 얼굴 하얗게 칠하고 버스타는거야? 그럼 맨날 every time 하얗게 칠할거야? 되게 귀찮겠다. [Wow, paint yourself white? That is a good idea! But, it sounds like bothersome because, whenever you get on the bus, you should paint yourself white.]

When the teacher asked the children about their possible reactions in Sarah’s situation, the children seemed to think for a while. Then, Jimmy first broke the silence, saying “all right.” It seemed that he wanted to say that, if he would be in that situation, he might accept the unfair rule because he did not care where he would sit in the bus. Yet, Young had a different opinion. He attempted to solve the problem in a more active way. Since Young considered that the problem was caused by the dark skin color, he focused on hiding his dark skin color with white materials. Young’s idea of painting himself with a white color was supported by his peers, but as the teacher pointed out the possible problem about painting, they tried to find out better solutions as follows:

- Sue: ^Oh! I know! 버스 안타구 mom’s car 타면 되요 [(I) can use mom’s car instead.]
- Teacher: 와 좋은 생각이네. 근데 엄마가 차가 없는 친구들은 어떻게? [Good idea. But what about some children who do not have mom’s cars?]
- Grace: ^차를 사면 되잖아요. [(They) can buy a car.]
- Teacher: 근데 가난해서 차를 못사는 친구들은? [But, what if they are too poor to buy a car?]

- Children: (silent)
- Teacher: 어.. 그래. 또 댜 사람은? [Ok. What about other opinions?]
- Katie: (shrinking her body) ^이렇게 이렇게.. 몰래 숨어 있으면 되요. [We can hide....like this.]
- Jimmy: (with a loud voice) I got an idea!! 그냥 어.. 어.. skin color 를 얼굴에 여기 바르구 어,, 버스에 타서 그냥 앞에 앉으면 되지. [Just.. uh.. uh... you paint your face white and.. uh.. you can secretly sit in the front seats.]

As the children realized the possible problem regarding painting, they tried to think of different solutions. For instance, Sue stated using Korean and English that she would use her mom's own vehicle, instead of a bus. Yet, as the teacher pointed out the fact that some people do not have their own cars, Grace jumped into the conversation and indicated in Korean that they could simply buy a car. However, as the teacher brought up the issue that not everyone can afford to buy their own cars, Katie figured out a new idea, which was "hiding themselves" on the bus. While listening to different opinions, Jimmy reviewed each idea, and synthesized several reasonable ones around him, and finally, he was able to create a new idea, which was "painting his face white and hiding in the front." Yet, his idea was questioned by the teacher again as follows:

- Teacher: 근데 만약 들키면? "너 페인트했지" 그러면? [But, what if you got caught? What if they say "you painted yourself, right?"]
- Jimmy: (thinking)
- Teacher: 그러면 police 가는거야? [Then, are you going to a police office?]
- Jimmy: (with a small voice) 아니. 그럼 그냥 거짓말 하면 돼 [No. Then, I might lie to them.]
- Teacher: 머라구 할건데? [Lie? What are you going to say to them?]
- Jimmy: 그냥 안했다구. [I might say that I didn't paint (myself).]

Teacher: 음.. 근데 거짓말은 안좋은거잖아. [Umm.. but “a lie” is a bad thing. You know.]

Sam: **** pink color 를 가지고 다녀서 얼굴에 발라요. (pointing a right hand) 페이트를 여기 조금 이렇게 하구.. (pointing a left hand) 여기 조금 이렇게 하구.. [You can bring ** pink color with you and paint your face with it. (You can) paint here a little bit and here a little bit..]

Teacher: (to him) 와~ 좋은 생각이다. [Wow. That is a good idea.]

When Jimmy’s idea of “painting and hiding” was confronted, Jimmy suggested that “a lie” could be the possibility, but this idea was challenged again as the teacher pointed out that lying is not a positive way to solve the problem. While the children shared their different opinions, Sam was quiet, thinking of something. Then, as Sam found some limitations about Young’s painting idea, he modified it in two aspects, using Korean: first, while Young selected a white color to paint his face, Sam corrected the color from “white” to “pink” because he considered that a pink color would be more like a skin tone. Second, as Sam reflected that painting only face would be not enough to hide his skin color, he revised the idea of “painting only face” to “painting all around the body” including two hands.

Although Young was the person who first brought up the idea of painting, while the teacher and the children exchanged their different thoughts about painting ideas, Young was silent. He seemed not be satisfied with his painting idea as he realized that it had some limitations. However, after thinking for a while, he made a pleasant smile and stated as follows:

Young: (with a loud voice) I gonna go to the TAN store!!

Researcher: Tan store 갈거야? 그래서 얼굴을 더 dark 하게 만들어? [Tan store? So, you want to make your face darker there?]

Young: (shaking his head) No. White 하게. [(I want to) make it white.]

Sam: (interrupting) 근데 face 말고 whole body 로 해요. [But, not only the face but also the whole body.]

Young, Jimmy: (acting out with a smile) White! White!

After Young speculated about other possible ways to make his skin color whiter, he finally indicated in English that he would go to “a tan store.” This type of response could be called as a “transparent” response by Sipe (2008) since Young was momentarily “becomes one of the story character and speak in role.” (p. 171). Young’s comment was fascinating to me since, although people usually go to tanning stores when they want to make their skin color darker, in Young’s imaginary world, tanning shops could be used for people with an opposite purpose. As Young found a more permanent way in which he could make his skin colors look lighter, both Young and Jimmy looked pleased.

Yet, Katie still seemed dissatisfied with Young’s idea because her fundamental question had not been solved yet. As Katie was still confused about why black people were not allowed to sit in the front seats, she asked that question again to the teacher, and it triggered another interesting dialogue among the children.

Katie: (to teacher) 근데 왜 black 하면 front seat 하면 안돼요? [But, why were black people not allowed to sit in the front?]

Teacher: 옛날에는 미국에서 그게 룰이었어. [That was a rule at that time.]

Jimmy: (talking something to himself with a very small voice)

Young: (smile) You can turn into a president... (with a louder voice) and I can change the law!!!

Teacher: 와~~ it is a very good idea! 그럼 우리 president 될려면 어떻게 해야돼? [Wow. That is a very good idea! Then, what do we should do to become a president?]

Young: We grown up...

Katie: (interrupting) 죽어. [(We should) Die.]

Teacher: (To Katie) 죽어? [Die?]

Children: (laugh)

Katie: 아니! President 는 pass away 하잖아. President 가 pass away 하잖아
[No. (I mean) presidents pass away. Presidents (always) pass away.]

As Katie brought up the “why” question again, Young had a chance to think about how they could solve the problem in a more fundamental way, which was changing the “bad” law by being a president: it was interesting to note that, while the teacher used the term “rule” instead of law, Young was using the term “law.” As Young brought up the new issue, the teacher tried to connect Young’s response to something related to a president such as how they would be able to be a president, and the children started to share their background knowledge about a president.

First, Young answered in English that, in order to be a president, they first have to “grow up” because he considered that young children would not be able to be a president. However, Katie had an opposite perspective from Young’s. By using Korean, she emphasized that they first have to “die” to be a president: it seemed that her idea came from her background knowledge that all past presidents were already passed away (e.g. Abraham Lincoln). Their conversation about a president had progressed even more as the teacher brought up the issue of a current president.

Teacher: 그럼 우리 지금 president 없나? [Then, don’t we have a president now?]

Young: (after a little while) Obama.

Teacher: 와~ Obama 도 알아? [Wow, you know Obama?]

Researcher: 와~ Young 은 Obama 도 아는 구나. 그치. 지금 president 는 Obama 야 [Wow, you know Obama. Right. The current president is Obama.]

Katie: 한국에.. president house.. [In Korea.. president house..]

Young: White house.

Teacher: 그럼 우리 한국에도 president 있나? [Then, do we have a president in Korea?]

Jimmy: Yeah..

Teacher: 그렇지. 한국에도 president 가 있어. [Right. There is a president in Korea as well.]

Young: (Looking confused and talking to himself) New York 에 있는데. Obama 는 New York 에 있어 [(he is) in New York. Obama is in New York.]

Researcher: (To Young) 와~ 어떻게 알았어? [Wow, where did you hear that?]

Young: ^엄마가 말했어요. [My mom told me that.]

As the teacher brought up the issue of a president who is still alive, Young remembered the current president, Barack Obama. When Young mentioned Obama, both the teacher and I made an exclamation of surprise since both of us did not expect a five-year-old child to be aware of a current president, Obama. As the teacher and I gave Young some compliments, Katie also tried to inform us of something related to a president such as “a president house.” However, Young, as a skilled peer, fixed “a president house” to a more appropriate term “a white house.” As their conversation about the president was developed, the teacher asked if there is also a president in Korea, and Jimmy answered positively. Yet, that information seemed contradictory for Young since he seemed to consider that Obama is the only “current” president. Although their conversation about Obama could not progress more due to the limited time, through this chance, the children were able to deepen their ideas about how they could solve Sarah’s problem in a more fundamental way.

After reading, the teacher asked the children what the story was about in order to give them a chance to review the book. The children’s creative participation was also recognizable when they had some discussions about the story they read. The next sub-section focuses on the children’s discussions after reading.

Discussions after reading and recreating the story. When the teacher asked the children to review Sarah’s story, the children attempted to encapsulate what they remembered.

After a while, Young first tried to summarize the story, and his attempt initiated the discussion as follows:

- Teacher: 이거 지금까지 무슨얘기였지? [So, what was the story about so far?]
- Children: (silent)
- Young: (Murmuring) The.. the.. Sarah..(was) supposed to sit in the back seat but she stepped up and walked to the front seat.
- Sam: (speak slowly) **office called the police and she was going to the police office.
- Teacher: 그치. 사라가 뒷자리로 가야되는데 앞으로 갔지. [Right. Sarah was supposed to be seated in the back but she moved to the front.]
- Katie: 왜 뒷자리로가.. [Why (does she have to) go to the back seat..]
- Young: (to Katie) black 이야. [Because she is a black.]
- Katie: (to Young) I know.
- Sue: 왜냐면 그때 long time ago 옛을때 개네들가 light skin 이랑 dark skin 이랑 separate 해서 light skin 이 더 위에 가구 black skin 이 더 밑에 가야되는데 그 사람은 그냥 ** 만들어서 그냥 거기 앞에 앉아있는거예요. [Because... a long time ago, there were light skin (people) and black skin and they had to be separated because light skin had to (sit) higher and black skin had to (sit) lower but the girl just stayed there by making some **]
- Teacher: 그렇지 옛날에는 그렇게 separate 해서 앉았지. [Right. A long time ago, those people sat separately.]
- Sue: 어 그래서 개네들가.. 어.. light skin 은 혼자 다 해야되구 dark skin 은 다 혼자 해야되구 근데 누가.. 같이.. 같이.. work out 하구.. 같이.. (murmuring) [So, those people.. uh.. uh.. light skin had to do alone and dark skin also had to do alone but.. some guy.. together.. together.. tried to work out.. together..]
- Grace: 원래 light skin.. [Originally, light skin..]
- Sue: (interrupting Grace with a loud voice) 원래 light skin 이랑 black skin 이랑 separate 했었는데요 근데 나중에 그 girl 가 안 separate 하구 앞에가서 경찰아저씨가 와서 pickup 해서 office 로 데려왔는데 엄가가 와서 pick up 했구요.... 그러구.. 사람들가 모여서 애가

famous 했어요. 왜냐면 newspaper 에 나와서 다들 알아서 애들가
다 follow 해서 [Originally, (people with) light skin and black skin (sat)
separately but the girl did not separate (herself) and went to the front,
and police came, and picked her up, and brought her to the office. Yet,
her mother picked her up and... people gathered and the girl became
famous because she was on a newspaper and everybody got to know
her and people followed her.]

Teacher: 와~ 너무 멋있게 정리했네. 다들 너무 잘했어. 그럼 우리 이렇게
피부색에 따라서 따로 앉는거는 좋은거야? [Wow.. it is a great
summary. Everyone did a great job. So, do you think that it is good to
sit separately according to skin color?]

Children: Bad.

Young: (with an annoyed face) Bad manners!!

In the excerpt above, the children attempted to summarize the story through socially interacting with each other, using mostly Korean. For instance, Young summarized the first half of the story, and the last half was completed by Sam's participation. Listening to Young and Sam's summaries, Katie again brought up the issue of why it was a problem for Sarah to sit in the front seat: it seemed that Sarah's situation still did not make sense to Katie, although she acknowledged that Sarah had to sit in the back because of her skin color.

With Katie's question, Sue attempted to answer her question by summarizing the story. According to Sue, people with light skin and dark skin sat separately because people with light skin had to sit in a "higher" position while people with dark skin should sit in a "lower" position in the bus: Sue was recreating the story by changing "front" to "higher," and "back" to "lower." This seemed to reflect the fact that the term "high" usually has a more positive meaning than "low."

However, as Sue's attempt seemed to have difficulty in adding more details, Grace tried to join Sue's summary, but Grace's attempt was restrained by Sue's second trial. This time, Sue was speaking faster and clearer, mostly using Korean. Although Sue's Korean was sometimes

not grammatical, she successfully reviewed the story, pointing out that most major events occurred in the story in an chronological order such as (1) Sarah broke the segregation law, (2) the police arrested her, and (3) she became famous as her courageous act was acknowledged by local newspapers. When the children finished reviewing the story, the teacher praised them, and asked the children how they felt about racial segregation. Most children presented their negative views about racial segregation. Young especially made an irritated face, revealing his strong negative view toward it.

After reviewing the story, the teacher provided the children with a blank paper and some crayons, and asked them to create their written texts about what they remembered about the book. The following sub-section focuses on how the children's stories were recreated in their written texts as they creatively participated in reading.

Recreating the story through written texts. While the teacher was circulating among the children, they started to draw on their white blank paper. However, Katie displayed an uncomfortable smile, and stated in Korean that the topic was too difficult for her. As Katie complained, Sam encouraged Katie by saying the following:

- Teacher: 자.. 이제 자기가 책에서 기억나는거 생각나는거 그리면 되요.
[Now, you can draw whatever you remember on the book.]
- Katie: (with a sullen face) 너무 어려워. 너무 어려워..... [That's too hard.
Too hard..]
- Sam: (to Katie) 어렵다고 안하면 안되요. [It is not good to avoid difficult
things.]

Although Sam encouraged Katie, Sam himself also seemed uncertain about what he would draw. Yet, unlike Sam and Katie, Young and Jimmy seemed to have an idea of what to draw. The following is the conversation while they created their written texts:

- Young: (with a big smile) I am drawing "a white only jet plane"

- Jimmy: (looking at Young's drawing) Yeah~
- Young: Only white people can come in!
- Grace: (talking to herself) It is hard to erase..
- Researcher: (to Young) “White only? 이 사람은 누구야? [Who is this guy?]
- Young: A brown skin.
- Teacher: (to Jimmy) 와~ 이걸 white people 만 탈수 있는거야? [Wow, so only white people are allowed to ride this?]
- Jimmy: That is a rainbow rocket! Yeah! (starting to act out) One, two, three, four!

Although Young seemed to have difficulty in what he would draw at the beginning, but after a while, he looked delighted and talked to himself that he would draw “a white only jet plane.” In his drawing, Young tried to apply a racial segregation issue to a jet plane context by creating the story of a white-only jet plane. In his imaginary world, only white people are allowed to ride his jet plane.



Figure 35. Young's text about “a white only jet plane”

Listening to Young's excited voice, Jimmy, next to Young, looked at Young's jet plane, and started to draw "a white-only rainbow rocket." Like Young, Jimmy seemed to be satisfied with his idea. Jimmy's rainbow rocket was similar to Young's jet plane from the perspective that only white people are allowed to ride it.



Figure 36. Jimmy's text about a white-only rainbow rocket.

However, there was a noticeable difference between Jimmy's and Young's written texts. While both black and white people in Young's text made smiling faces and seemed to be satisfied with a white-only jet plane, a black person in Jimmy's text seemed not to be pleased with a white-only rocket, making a frowning face. Also, in Young's text, black people were making a pleasing "whaaaa" sound ("whaaaa" is "wow" in Korean). Yet, in Jimmy's text, a white person was making laughing sounds "ho ho," whereas a black person was complaining, saying "not fair."

Like Young and Jimmy, Sue also focused on the issue of racial segregation but she tried to stick to the bus context, instead of applying it to different contexts such as a jet plane and a

rocket. While creating her written text, Sue was quietly focusing on her drawing. In her drawing, she created the story of white and black people separated in the bus, which was similar to the original. However, her story was still different because, in her drawing, white people were sitting on the chairs while black people were standing. This seemed to reflect the fact that white people were more privileged than black people at that time. However, black people in her written text still seemed pleased by making a smile face despite this unfair treatment.



Figure 37. Sue's written text about racial segregation in a bus.

Since Sue was dividing black and white people in a separate section in the bus, in order to make sure which side is the front, I asked her the following question:

Researcher: (pointing black people in Sue's written text) 이 사람들은 black people 이야? [Wow, so these are black people?]

Sue: Yep!

Researcher: 근데 white people 은 앉아있고 black people 은 서 있네. (pointing black people) 근데 여기 웃고 있는거야? [They are standing while white people are seated. But, are black people smiling?]

Sue: ^네.. [Yes.]

Researcher: 근데 어디가 앞이야? [But, where is the front?]

Sue: 음.. [Umm...] (pointing at black people's side) here!!

Researcher: 그럼 black people 이 앞에 있는거야? [Then, are black people standing in the front? Why?]

Sue: 네^ [Yes.]

Researcher: 왜? [Why?]

Sue: 어.. front 가 더 좋은거니까요. [Umm... because the front is better.]

In the conversation, Sue pointed out that black people are standing in the front while white people are sitting in the back. Although she allowed only white people to sit, Sue was positioning black people in the front and white people in the back. That is, she was positioning white people in the back in return for sitting on the chairs. By doing so, it seemed that she attempted to provide advantages to both white and black people to make the situation fair.

While Sue was creating her text, Katie, next to Sue, circulated her eyes to examine other peers' works with a sullen face. Noticing Katie's struggle, Sue encouraged Katie, saying in English "you can draw a bus like me." After a while, Katie also started to draw a bus separated by black and white people. Like Sue, Katie applied the racial segregation issue to a bus context based on the original story. Katie's drawing was similar to Sue's text from the perspective that Katie positioned brown people in the front and white people in the back.



Figure 38. Katie's written text.

However, although there were some similarities between Sue and Katie's texts, Katie's text was different from Sue's. In Katie's text, she included letters such as "black" and "white" instead of drawing black and white people.

While Katie was drawing her written text, Sam still seemed confused about what he would draw, and he ended up drawing a robot. Noticing that Sam was drawing a robot, Jimmy blamed Sam, and reported it to the teacher.

Jimmy: (to Sam) Hey! You can't draw this! ^선생님! 애는 people 안그리고 로봇 그려요. [Teacher! He is drawing a robot, not people!!]

Sam: (with a sullen face) ^머 그릴지 몰라요. [I don't know what to draw.]

Teacher: 괜찮아. 그리고 싶은거 그려요. [It's fine. You can draw whatever you want.]

With Jimmy's words, Sam seemed to be discouraged, and he finally stopped drawing. He also resisted submitting it to the teacher after the Story Time.

Grace, next to Sam, was silent during the whole drawing session, focusing on her own work. In her written text, she drew a girl with a colorful dress.



Figure 39. Grace's text about a girl.

As Grace drew something not related to the book, I tried to ask her about her drawing.

Researcher: Grace 는 예쁜 여자아이를 그렸구나. 애는 누구야? [You drew a pretty little girl. So, who is she?]

Grace: (with a quiet voice) ... Just a girl.

Although Grace and Sam's texts were not related to the original story, most of the children recreated their texts based on the story they remembered in the book. While doing a drawing activity, the children were able to have an opportunity to review the book, and refine their thoughts about main themes of the book such as racial segregation, fairness, and discrimination.

Summary

This chapter demonstrated how the children responded to the book *사라, 버스를 타다* [*Sarah, Rides a Bus*] (2004) and how the students were supported to engage in racial talks while reading the book. The examples of how the children created meanings by socially interacting with the teacher and their peers indicates that reading, for those children, was not simply decoding the text but active negotiations among themselves, the text, and “the context.” That is, the meaning was neither in them nor in the text, and it was “situated” as they were mutually constructing the meaning in their specific social context. Since reading was a constructive process for those children, as active readers, they sometimes recreated their stories by incorporating all resources around them. While the children shared their own understandings of the text and recreating their story worlds, they were emotionally engaged in Sarah’s story, and that provided them with an opportunity to learn that it is an unscrupulous attitude to treat people differently according to the physical differences.

The four chapters above discussed the children’s responses to social justice books and their literary talks with the teacher and peers about different skin colors, freedom, discrimination, racial segregation, and fairness. As the children were consistently exposed to reading those books and discussed diverse social justice issues, their attitudes toward black friends also started to change. The following short chapter focuses on the children’s changed attitudes toward black friends and how the teacher considered this change.

Chapter 9

Possibilities and Challenges of Reading Social Justice Literature: Teacher's Voice

Introduction

According to Probst (1994), the goal of reading literature is to provide students with a chance to learn not only about themselves but also about “others,” which includes their varying concepts of “the good life, of love and hate, justice and revenge, and the other significant issues of human experience” (p. 39-40). While observing the children’s reading of social justice literature in Ms. Park’s classroom throughout the semester, I was able to see this potential. However, I also observed some challenges of reading those books to the children. This section focuses on what possibilities and challenges I found while observing the children’s reading of multicultural literature in Ms. Park’s classroom. The first section starts by discussing some possibilities.

Potential of Social Justice Literature

As my study was drawing to the end, I rarely observed the children’s resistance to black characters. It seemed that they felt more comfortable to people with dark skin. Being more comfortable with black characters, they seemed to be more engaged in the books. While exchanging their responses to the books and sharing their thoughts together, the children were able to develop their emergent notions about many difficult social justice issues including discrimination and freedom. For example, when the children read the book *자유의 노래* [*The Song of Freedom*] (2009), which was the last book used in this study, I was able to observe how

the children's notion about freedom had been developed during the last four months. The following sub-section discusses the children's talks about freedom.

Discussing the notion of freedom. As discussed earlier, the book was written by a Korean author, and it dealt with a story of Martin Luther King, and African Americans' fight for freedom. Since the book had some difficult Korean words throughout the book such as 차별[discrimination] , 비폭력 [nonviolence], 저항[resistance], and 탄압 [oppression], the children seemed less engaged in reading the book. Ms. Park was also not able to finish reading it due to her tight class schedule on that day. However, despite a distracting situation, the children still seemed to enjoy reading: no child exhibited his or her negative views toward black characters in the book. Most of them seemed to already acknowledge who Martin Luther King was. While reading the book, the children attentively listened to the story. The following is the conversation about freedom between the teacher and the children while reading the book:

- Teacher: 근데 black people 은 왜 싸웠어? [But, why did black people fight for?]
- Sue: Because they wanted to be.. free.
- Teacher: 그럼 자유 Freedom 이 뭔가 같아? [Then, what do you think freedom is?]
- Jimmy: 음... black people 은 맘대로 노래 부를수 없구 식당도 따로 써야되구 근데 freedom 같은거.. 우리 아무것도 할수 있는거야. [Umm. Black people were not allowed to sing songs as they like, and they should use restaurant separately but.. with something like freedom, we can do anything.]
- Teacher: 와 그럴구나. 다 할수 있는게 freedom 이구나. [Wow. That is right. With freedom, you can do everything.]
- Teacher: 또 딴사람은? 우리는 어떤 프리덤이 있지? [What about others? What kind of freedom do we have?]
- Young: Free to play.

- Sue: And free to buy anything. (with a loud and excited voice) And, And!! free to read books!
- Sam: Free to play**
- Katie: ^Freedom 은 좋은 거예요. [Freedom is a good thing.]
- Researcher: 왜? [Why?]
- Katie: 응.....(smiling) ^freedom 은 Happy 한거예요!! [Because.. freedom is happiness.]

When the children discussed freedom at the beginning of the study, they seemed to be confused with what it means (e.g. Young stated “freedom” might be the gas station “Freedom”). Yet, this time, their answers seemed more complicated and diverse than before. They talked about freedom in different contexts using both Korean and English. It seemed that they had a better understanding of the meaning of freedom as they had a chance to read different books dealing with the issue of freedom.

As the children seemed more comfortable in reading the books, Ms. Park also looked more relaxed when reading the books to the children. In order to make sure about her experience, I interviewed her after class, and she indicated that she became more comfortable as the semester progressed.

- Teacher: 저도 시간이 가면서 더 편해졌어요. 오랫동안 해와서 그런지 애들이 많이 알아듣는거 같더라구요. 처음에는 재미 없어 하고 알아듣기 힘들어하고 그랬던거 같은데 시간이 지나면서 점점 낱아진거 같아요. 그래서 아이들이 모른다고 생각하고 안하기 보다는 꾸준히 조금씩 노출시키는게 중요한거 같아요. 아이들이 좀 어리지만 궁극적으로는 아이들에게 도움이 될거고 결국은 여기서 살아야 되는 애들이 많기 때문에 언젠가는 한번쯤 다 생각해야 되는 문제이기 때문에.. 그래서 현실적으로 중요하다고 생각해요. 그때 많은 도움이 됐으면 좋겠네요. [As time went on, I became more comfortable. It must be because the children seemed to better understand (the difficult stories) as they were exposed to those books for a longer period of time. The children seemed to have difficulty in engaging with the books at the beginning of the semester, but as time passed by, they seemed to be more comfortable (in reading

them). So, I think that it is important to help them to be exposed to those books gradually and consistently. Although they are young now, they eventually will be exposed to racial issues because most of them will live in the US anyway. Thus, from a practical point of view, I think that this kind of learning is important. I hope that this (education) will be eventually helpful for them then.]

In the interview above, Ms. Park indicated that she became more comfortable in reading social justice books to the children as they seemed to be interested in reading those books. She also informed me that, while observing this change, she became more confident about the benefits of reading social justice literature to young children. In addition, she asserted that learning other cultures is important especially when we want to introduce our own cultures to other racial/ethnic groups because, without understanding others, we cannot introduce our cultures to them.

Teacher: 다른 사람들의 다른 문화와 다른 성질과 다른 생김새와 다른 여러가지 것들을 알려주는건 참 중요하다고 생각해요. 이렇게 다 같이 사는거다 그런거. 가르쳐 주고 싶어요. 흑인은 흑인대로의 문화가 있고 우리는 우리대로의 문화가 있고. 다른 사람들의 문화를 알려고 하지 않으면 우리의 문화를 알려주기도 힘들어요. [I think it is important to introduce children different cultures, different characteristics and many other different things. I just want to teach them something like “we are all living together.” Black people have their own cultures and we have our own. If we do not want to understand other cultures, we cannot introduce our cultures to them.]

While emphasizing the importance of teaching young children to learn about other cultures, Ms. Park also pointed out why multicultural education is particularly crucial in the Korean context.

Teacher: 특히 한국에서는 그런 교육이 더욱 필요하다고 생각해요. 한국문화가 좀 많이 폐쇄적인 면이 있어서 그런거 같아요. 외국 사람들을 그렇게 많이 대할 기회가없다보니. 아시다시피 한국은 우리 (초등)학교 학교다닐때만해도 100%다 한국 사람이었잖아요. 그런 배경에 있다보니 생각해 볼 여지가 없었고 최근에 불법 이민자들이 와서 좀 접하게는 되지만 아직도 폐센티지는 매우 적은거 같아요. 그런 교육이 없다보니 더 문제가 자꾸 생기기도

하고. 그래서 가르쳐야 한다고 생각해요 [I think that this education (multicultural education) is especially crucial in Korea because Korean culture is somewhat exclusive, as Korean people have limited chances to contact foreign people. As you know, when we went to (elementary) school in Korea, 100% of the student population was Korean. Being exposed to those surroundings, we didn't have a chance to think about other racial groups. Recently, more children in Korea are exposed to multicultural surroundings due to the increasing number of illegal immigrants, although I think that the percentage (of foreign people) is still very low. However, only very few teachers acknowledge multicultural education. I think that we should pay more attention to teaching multicultural issues (to young children).]

In order to better understand Ms. Park's view on social justice literature, I asked her to demonstrate more specifically about the benefits of reading social justice literature to young children. With my question, Ms. Park answered that the greatest benefit of it would be that the children started to open their minds to have friends with different skin colors. The following sub-section focuses on the children's changed attitudes toward black friends.

Children's changed attitudes toward having black friends. As indicated earlier, the teacher was not able to finish the book *자유의 노래* [*The Song of Freedom*] due to limited time. When she stopped reading in the middle of the story, the children looked disappointed and asked her to explain what happened next. With the children's request, the teacher showed them the remaining illustrations. After reading the book, I asked the children if they have black friends, or would have black friends in the future in order to make sure of the children's attitudes toward black people.

Researcher: 나 지금 블랙친구 있는 사람? [Do any of you have a black friend now?]

Children: (all raise hands)

Researcher: 와~ 진짜? 다 블랙 친구 있어요? [Wow. Really? Everybody has black friends?]

- Young: ^예. 근데 난 black 친구 class 에는 없어요. [Yes. But I don't have black friends in class.]
- Researcher: 그럼 black 친구어딴데? [Then, where are your black friends?]
- Young: (smile) Everywhere!
- Sue: I have black friends in my class!!
- Katie: Me too!!
- Researcher: 그럴구나. 그럼 “나는 black people 싫어요” 손들어볼까? [Oh. I see. Then, raise a hand if “I don't like black people!!”]
- Children: (nobody raised a hand)
- Researcher: 없어요? [No?]. Jimmy 는 흑인 친구 있어? [No? what about Jimmy? Do you have black friends?]
- Jimmy: I have two at school. We can be friends.
- Researcher: 아. 그럴구나. 그럼 나는 다좋아요 손들어볼까? 나는 black people 도 좋구 white 도 좋구 다 좋아요 [Oh. Good! Then, what about “I like all, black people and white people?”]
- Children: (all raise hands)
- Researcher: 와 다 좋아? 진짜? [Wow. Really?]

In the excerpt above, all children displayed their positive attitudes toward having black friends. Their responses were especially remarkable when I compared it to their previous views toward black people at the beginning of the semester. At that time, no child provided a positive answer. For instance, when I asked Young about his view toward black people, he indicated that they are “weird.” He also expressed his adverse view about having black friends. However, his view toward black friends seemed to change as he was frequently exposed to the books that depicted African American people throughout the semester. Although Young still did not have a specific black friend by being an only student of color in his classroom, now he seemed open to the possibility of having black friends in the future.

Sue was also the one who often expressed her strong negative views toward black people (e.g. she indicated that she would throw away her black sister if her mother had a black baby). Yet, this time, she tried to brag with a smiling face about the fact that she has a black friend in her classroom. In the previous discussions, Jimmy also frequently revealed strong resistance toward people with dark skin. However, in the conversation above, he showed different attitudes toward black friends, and indicated the possibility of making friends with two black classmates. Although there was an individual difference in terms of the degree of change, in general, the children's racial attitudes toward black people seemed to become more amiable.

In addition to the children's racial views, their behaviors and attitudes toward black friends were also changed. This was supported by the interviews with the parents. For example, when I interviewed Jimmy's mother in February and asked if Jimmy had black friends, she informed me that there was no black friend for him. However, when I interviewed her again in May, Jimmy's mother indicated as follows:

Researcher: 지미가 흑인 친구가 요즘 있나요? [Does Jimmy have black friends these days by any chance?]

Jimmy's mother: 지금도 주로 한국 친구나 백인이랑 지금도 많이 어울리지만 요즘에는 다른 인종애들이나 머.. 흑인이랑도 곧잘 잘 지내는거 같아요. 종전에는 자기반 흑인친구에 대한 이야기도 했어요. [Most times, he is still hanging out with Korean and white friends but, these days, it seems that he is getting along with other friends as well including black friends. Actually, not long ago, Jimmy talked about his black classmate in his school.]

Researcher: 지미가 뭐하고 했는지 어쨌봐도 될까요? [Can I ask what he said to you about his black classmate?]

Jimmy's mother: 머 같이 놀았다는 얘기였던거 같아요. [It was something related their play.]

Researcher: 지미가 어떤 계기로 변한지 혹시 아시나요? [Can you guess what influenced him to change?]

Jimmy's mother: 글썸.. 잘 모르겠지만 아뭏든 좋은 변화인거 같아요. [Well.. I don't know. But, it might be a good change.]

Researcher: 근데 예전에 지미 어머님께서 흑인에 대해 좀 부정적인 견해를 가지고 가셨던걸로 기억해서.. 지미가 다른 인종 아이들과 친한것은 괜찮으신지. [I am just wondering if it is fine for you that Jimmy plays with children from other racial groups including black children because I remember that you do not have a positive view toward black people.]

Jimmy's mother: 글썸 그건 내가 좀 부정적인 입장이었던거고 그렇다고 지미가 항상 어떤.. 한국사람이나 백인들만 친하길 바라는건 아니예요. 머 다양한 아이들과 친한게 지미한테도 좋을거라고 생각해요. [Well.. although I don't have positive views toward certain racial groups, that doesn't mean that I want Jimmy to play with ONLY Koreans and white people. I still think that it is good that Jimmy has many friends from diverse backgrounds.]

In the interview above, Jimmy's mother indicated that Jimmy seemed to open his mind to black friends, and she considered it as a positive change. In addition to Jimmy's mother, Katie's mother also told me about Katie's black friends. When I interviewed Katie's mother at the beginning of the study, she indicated her uncertainty about Katie's relationships with black friends. However, in the interview in May, she informed me that Katie had some black friends in school as follows:

Katie's mother: Katie가 친한애들 중에 흑인 애들도 지금 꽤 있어요. 근데 뭐라 그러지.. 개네들이 되게 생각보다 스윗해요. 굉장히 적극적이고.. 안고 좋아하고 뽀뽀하고 심지어는 선생님이 떼어놓을 정도로.. Katie가 그런거 되게 좋아해요. 언제 한번 한 친구가 아파서 학교 못나왔는데 오니까 막 뽀뽀하고 그러면 선생님이 그런건 하지 말라 그러구...(laugh) [Among Katie's friends, there are several black friends now. But, how can I say, they (black children) are sweeter than I thought. Also (they are) very active (in expressing their feelings). They (black children) like to hug and kiss each other. Sometimes, the teacher even separates them. Katie also likes that kind of things. One day, one of Katie's black friends was absent from school on account of illness. When she came back to school, they (Katie and her black friend) kissed each other so that the teacher separated them...]

Katie's mother indicated that Katie's preference to "touch" with her peers seems to influence her to quickly open her mind to black friends. Like Katie's mother, Grace's father also stated that Grace seemed to get along with her black classmates at school when I interviewed him in May. The interviews with most children's parents supported that the children's relationships with black friends were improved. However, despite the children's changed relationships with black classmates, the participating mothers' own racial attitudes toward African Americans did not seem to have changed when I interviewed them at the end of the study. In addition, most participating mothers indicated that they still did not read multicultural books to their children.

While there was no change in terms of participating mothers' racial attitudes toward black people, the children's racial attitude seemed to change during the semester. When I interviewed the teacher about this issue, the teacher indicated that she was also able to notice this change. She noted that, while the children consistently read books that had African Americans as main characters, the children seemed to be familiar with black children and started to open their minds to making friends with them. She pointed out that that would be one of the greatest benefits of reading multicultural literature to young children.

Ms. Park: 친구를 사귀는데 있어서 제일 장점이 있지 않을까 싶어요. 아까 Jimmy 만 해도 블랙친구가 있다 그럴때 놀랐어요. 벌써 그것만해도 그런 선입견이나 그런게 많이 없어진거 같아요. 색깔로 친구를 사귀는게 아니라 사람보고. 흑인이기 때문에 나쁘다는 "이미지" 가 아닌 사람으로서. 근데 이런 책을 읽음으로써 비록 간접적이지만 다른 사람들을 접하게 되서 좀더 마음을 열 수 있는 계기가 된건 아니었을까..[I think that one of the greatest benefits (of reading multicultural literature) is making diverse friends. I was surprised when Jimmy indicated he has black friends now. It seemed to me that the children's prejudice (to people with dark skin) was much reduced. They seemed to start to think that they should make friends not based on "color" or "image" but on personality. I think that they were able to open their minds (to black people) as they had chances to experience other people's lives through

reading literature. Although those were indirect experiences, I think that that still provided the children with a valuable chance to experience other people's lives and open their minds to them.]

In the interview above, Ms. Park indicated that reading social justice literature provided the children with a chance to be familiar to people with dark skin, and to reduce their biased attitudes toward them, and that helped the children to open their minds to make friends regardless of skin colors.

However, Ms. Park also emphasized that, despite the potential of social justice literature, it is also important to remember that there would be some possible dangers caused by reading social justice literature to young children. The next section focuses on this issue.

Possible Dangers of Reading Social Justice Literature to Young Children

The goal of this section is to discuss possible dangers of reading young children literature dealing with social justice issues. As indicated earlier, most of the children in Ms. Park's classroom were from a financially affluent family. In that situation, some children seemed to consider that they have to "help" black people because blacks are financially insufficient. For instance, when I asked Grace during break about how she felt toward black people after reading *헨리의 자유상자* [*Henry's Freedom Box*], she answered as follow:

Researcher: Grace 는 black people 어때? [How do you feel about black people?]

Grace: Umm.. I don't know. They are poor... So, we should help them!

This conversation shows that there was also a possibility that some children could oversimplify racial problems in the US such as "black people were poor," and "white people treated them badly." This is dangerous because this attitude could cause another prejudice for

the children if they approach racial conflicts in the US as a “good” versus “evil” fight. In the last interview with Ms. Park, she also pointed out this danger as follows:

Teacher: 걱정이 되는 부분은 애들이 오히려 선입견을 갖게 될까봐요. 너무 크기 전에, 이해를 못한 상태에서 선입견이 더 생길수도 있지 않을까. 흑인들이 그렇게 자유가 없었고 그런걸.. 동등하지 않았다는 거에 대한 거를 잘 이해하고 받아들이면 좋은 영향이겠지만 그렇지 않고 단순히 팩트로만 받아들여서 너희는 못살았다 그렇게 오히려 다른 선입견을 심어줄까봐 걱정이 되는 부분도 있어요. 그래서 사람에 따라 다르다는것도 기억해야할거 같아요. [In fact, my concern is that (social justice literature) could cause another prejudice for young children when they are exposed to social justice issues too early (e.g. black people had no freedom and they were not treated equally). This education can be a positive influence if they accept the information in a positive way, but if children take everything at face value and feel sorry for the blacks, it can cause another prejudice. Thus, I think that we should remember that every child is different.]

Ms. Park indicated that, despite many positive aspects of social justice literature, she worried if learning about racial conflicts from a young age can cause other prejudice. Thus, she stressed that it is important to read diverse social justice books, rather than focusing on a few social justice issues such as discrimination or slavery. She also emphasized that, when we read social justice literature to young children, we should pay attention to each child’s individual difference and their different backgrounds. Ms. Park also emphasized that reading multicultural literature should be approached differently in Korean and the US contexts because those two countries have different cultural and societal backgrounds:

Teacher: 좀 접근 방법도 달라야 할것 같아요. 한국에서 할 경우는 조금.. 국민학교 고학년정도? 왜냐면 다문화를 직접 겪는 일이 많지 않으니까. 그리고 흑인은 많지 않으니까 흑인 보다는 필리핀이나 다른 인종에 대한 것도 필요할것 같아요. 근데 여기는 워낙에 다문화를 많이 접하니까 더 어린 나이에해도 괜찮은거 같아요. 흑인의 이야기는 다른 나라의 얘기가 아니라 바로 여기 있었던 이야기니까 흑인에 대한 이야기를 많이 읽어주는 것도 중요할 것 같아요... 아 물론 다양한 문화를 가르치는 건 참 중요한거 같아요.

인종이라고 구분짓는 것도 어떻게 보면 인간이 만든 큰 문화에 속하는 거니까 [I think that we should approach (multicultural education) differently. In Korea, it would be better to teach these issues to children who are in higher grades, because only few Korean people acknowledge a multicultural education. Yet, in the US, I think that we can teach these things to children from a young age since multicultural issues are not new here. Also, in Korea, we should pay more attention to Filipinos or other racial groups, rather than African Americans since the black population is pretty low (in Korea). On the contrary, in the US, the African American population is pretty high, and their stories are a part of the history here in the US. So, we can read more stories about black people to Korean bilingual children. Anyway, I believe that it is very important to teach about diverse cultures and people to young children because, in a broad sense, categorizing human beings into different race groups is one of the cultures that humans created.]

As Ms. Park pointed out, reading multicultural literature to young children should be approached carefully by considering many factors such as each child's differences, and different historical, societal, and cultural backgrounds of each country.

Summary

This chapter discussed the potential of reading social justice literature to young children and some possible dangers of it, focusing on the teacher's voice. Ms. Park asserted that reading social justice literature to young bilingual children could provide them with a chance to develop critical attitudes toward differences that they meet in their daily lives. However, she also emphasized that multicultural learning should be approached carefully because an individual child has different backgrounds, and different countries have different historical, cultural, and societal backgrounds. The next chapter summarizes what I found through this study, and based on those findings, I continue discussing how my findings can be applied to larger contexts, and how we, as teachers, can create more supportive atmosphere for young bilingual children's literacy classrooms.

Chapter 10

Discussions, Conclusions, Implications

This dissertation study investigated how the preschool Korean bilingual children responded to literature dealing with social justice themes and how their literary talks helped them develop their emergent notions about racial diversity and social justice. According to Harris (1990), “children’s literature serves the important role of mediator between children, cultural knowledge, and socialization by adults” (p. 542). Particularly, literature dealing with multicultural issues provides children with a chance to learn complex social issues and appreciate the varied cultures (Bishop, 1990, 1992; Cai, 2002; Harris, 1990, 1992, Nieto, 1992). In this sense, Nelson (2005) argues that multicultural literature for young children can serve as “social change” (p. 131). This last chapter summarizes what I found through this study. It also discusses some limitations of the study and practical implications of my findings. The first section starts from discussing what I found by observing the children’s reading of the books dealing with social justice themes in Ms. Park’s classroom at the KLS.

Resistance to Black Characters

When the children in Ms. Park’s classroom read the books at the beginning of the semester, they exhibited resistance to black characters, and their resistance was shaped within their larger social and cultural surroundings. According to Rosenblatt (1983), meaning resides in interaction between reader and text because “the reader brings to the work personality traits, memories of past events, present needs and preoccupations, a particular mood of the moment, and a particular physical condition” (p. 30). Since reading is a unique occurrence involving both

reader and text, it is a “never-to-be duplicated” experience (p. 31). Each child in Ms. Park’s classroom made a unique contribution to each reading by bringing his/her prior knowledge and own experiences. However, this does not mean that, for these children, reading was a solitary activity because their responses to the books were influenced by the following factors.

Prevailing racial discourse. According to Bleich (1978), readers respond differently to texts based on their beliefs and attitudes. Because readers share certain conventions as members of interpretive communities, “texts, readers, and contexts are each inseparable from the other” (Beach, 1990, p. 66). When the participating children read the texts, they reflected on their social and cultural experiences, and in this process, they sometimes exhibited resistance to black characters. For instance, when the children read the book *헨리의 자유상자* [*Henry’s Freedom Box*] (2008), Sue resisted the black character, Henry, after a cursory examination of the book. Also, when Young looked at the book, he exhibited his negative feelings toward Henry’s dark skin color. The children’s resistance to Henry’s skin color was not a simple aversion to dark skin because, as reader response theorists argue, readers’ values shape responses according to their “cultural codes” that constitute their experiences (e.g. Beach, 1995; Beach & Freedman, 1992; Galda & Beach, 2001). As members of diverse communities, the children’s responses to black characters inevitably reflected the different ideological orientation and cultural conventions of their communities. In this sense, their negative responses to black characters were not freed from their complex social and cultural milieus.

White-dominant surroundings. The children’s resistance to black characters was also closely related to their white-dominant surroundings. Most participating children attended white-dominant schools with white teachers, except for Sam: although Sam attended a school with a high African- American population, Sam’s mother revealed her uncomfortable feelings

about the racial demographics of the school. Also, most of the mothers rarely socialized with black people, and they all lived in white-dominant areas at the time of the study. Plus, most parents had never had a chance to read social justice literature to their children, due to the children's young age and the lack of social justice books written in Korean in the US. In light of these surroundings, the children had very few chances to interact with black people either directly or indirectly. Vuckovic (2008) argues that, for young children, "difference" is often related to fear. Due to the limited exposure to dark-skinned people, the children seemed to have negative feelings toward them, and that could influence the children's negative responses to black characters.

Parental influence. In addition to the white-dominant surroundings, the children's uncomfortable feelings toward black characters could also be affected by their parents' racial views toward African Americans. Most of the participating parents had not had specific undesirable experiences with African Americans, but their racial attitudes toward them were somewhat negative. For example, Jimmy's mother was uninterested in knowing other cultures, and particularly, her view toward African Americans was not positive. Young and Sam's mother also exhibited uncomfortable feelings toward black people, especially when they saw black people with shabby clothes. The participating mothers' preference for white teachers also reflected their negative stances toward African Americans. Considering this, parents' racial attitudes toward African Americans could influence the children's negative views toward black characters.

Media influence. Park (1997) claims that blacks are often portrayed as violent through media based on White perspectives. Although public media influence was not salient in this study, it prompted in the children negative views toward black characters. For instance, Jimmy's

view about black people as dangerous was closely related to his indirect experience to a video game that depicted black people as aggressive street criminals. Although most children had not been exposed to media that specifically depicted black people as dangerous, it is possible that they had been indirectly affected by negative images of black males as criminals through media including video games, TV, and movies. That could have contributed to the children's negative feeling toward black characters in the books.

Positive image of white color. The children's resistance to dark-skinned characters also could be understood in relation to their own preferences in color. According to Duckitt and Wall (1999), "a culturally widespread tendency to prefer the color white over black may be a product of society and history rather than of early experiences" (p. 143). Most of the children exhibited their inclination to the color white because they considered it "cleaner" and "safer." For instance, Sue had a negative image toward the color black as unsanitary and invisible. Jimmy also preferred the color white, pointing out that black is an unsafe color. The children's preference to the color white could reflect the prevailing discourse that white is a more positive color. In this sense, undesirable images of the color black itself could affect the children's negative responses to black characters.

African-American main characters. Another possibility for the children's resistance to black characters was that the children did not feel like the books talked about "their" stories since "implied readers" of these books would be African American children. Since the books portrayed African Americans and their cultures, it was possible that some children did not identify with any of the main characters.

In sum, while reading social justice literature, the children exhibited their resistance to black characters, and their responses were shaped within social and cultural surroundings such as

(1) the prevailing attitudes of their communities, (2) white-dominant surroundings, (3) media and parental influences, (4) negative images of the color black, and (5) difficulty in identifying themselves with the main characters.

Prediction and Creative Participation

According to Beach (1993), readers in the preschool years focus on images, fears, and desires because children actively create imaginary fantasy worlds while reading. Iser (1978) also emphasizes readers' creative participation during a reading process. While reading the books, the children used their imagination to understand the texts, and this was frequently observed during most of the reading activities. Their creative participation was particularly evident on several different occasions: (1) when they predicted the stories, (2) when they tried to fill the "textual gaps," (Iser, 1978), and (3) when they identified themselves with characters.

Predicting the story. According to Iser (1978), readers recognize the proper path through the narrative by "the authorial codes" (p. 36). Throughout the process of reading, these "codes" provide readers with guidance for making expectations about the unstated details of the settings. Most of the children in Ms. Park's classroom made active predictions about the texts by using information provided by the texts in many different situations. First, they formed ideas about the story when they looked at the cover of the book by using the visual and verbal information on it. For example, when reading the book *Chocolate Me!* (2011), Jimmy anticipated that the story would be about a chocolate boy who ate himself while Sue expected that it would be about a boy eating chocolate and other people eating candies.

Secondly, the children predicted the consequences of the stories. While reading *헨리/의 자유상자* [*Henry's Freedom Box*] (2008), the children predicted the consequences of Henry's

escape to the North. Also, when reading *사라, 버스를 타다* [Sarah, Rides the Bus] (2008), Sam predicted that Sarah would go to jail as a result of sitting in the front seat. Like these examples, the children actively made predictions about what would happen in the stories using information provided by the authors. By predicting the stories, they could be deeply engaged in the reading.

Filling the gap through creative participation. Iser (1974) argues that an author provides only as much information as is necessary to keep a reader interested. Since the references left open deliberately by the author, these empty spaces spur the reader's imagination. As the author of the books invited the children into the worlds of the stories, they were stirred to active participation, and in this process, they sometimes used their imaginations to understand the author's voice. For example, when the children read the book *사라, 버스를 타다* [Sarah, Rides the Bus] (2008), Young brought a range of different schema to understand what was happening in the bus, but as Young had difficulty in searching the appropriate "scripts" (Beach, 1993), he tried to use his schema brought from the Korean culture (e.g. Sarah's problem was caused by not yielding her seat to seniors). Like this example, once the children were "entangled" with the text, they tried to fill in "the unwritten parts" (Iser, 1974, p. 290) of the story using their different schema. In other words, the "textual gap" stimulated the children's active participation, and helped them to enjoy "a game of the imagination" (p. 275).

"Performative response". Sipe (2008) argues that, when young children read texts, they (1) "*analyze* the texts as a self-contained unit," (2) "*link or relate* several texts to each other," and (3) *personalize* the texts (p. 185-86). When the children got caught up in the narrative of the stories, they sometimes personalized the stories by talking about what they would do if they were in that situation, a process which Sipe (2008) called *performative response*. For instance, when reading the scene that described Henry's family being sold to the North, the children were

emotionally engaged in the story, and they started to directly interact with the character: Young indicated that he would choose to confront the problem while Jimmy and Sam stated that they would escape. Also, when reading of Sarah being arrested as a result of sitting in the front seat, Young indicated that he would choose to cover his dark skin color with white materials, or make his skin white in a permanent way (e.g. “I’m gonna go to the TAN store!!”). Like these examples, when the boundary between the text and the children became blurred, the children sometimes became characters in the stories. By personalizing the stories, the children were able to imagine the lives of the characters, and that helped them to better understand the texts.

Engaged resistance. While reading books, children interact with texts both cognitively and emotionally, and a significant emotional effect is sometimes too painful for some children (Moller & Allen, 2000). When the children in Ms. Park’s classroom were deeply emerged in the stories, some of them revealed their emotional resistance, which is called *engaged resistance*. For instance, when reading Henry’s tragic and draining experiences, Katie revealed her strong sympathy for him. It seemed that reading Henry’s tragic experience was too painful for Katie. However, engaged resistance did not always work negatively for these children because it is often associated with “the development of critical capacities in readers” (Sipe & Mcquire, 2006, p. 10). With engaged resistance, the children had a chance to develop their critical questions about Henry’s situation including why Henry’s family was sold and why certain rules were not fair. These examples demonstrate that, while reading, the children “performed on” texts by using the texts as catalysts for their own “flights” (Sipe, 2008). Their creative participation helped them to be emerged in the texts, and to envision the lives of black characters.

Exploring Critical and Diverse Perspectives through Literary Talks

Corcoran (1992) argues that “readers are given the dialogic possibility” as they recognize multiple voices and “the polyglossia of the texts” (p. 66). The social construction of meaning was particularly salient when the children mutually created responses through social interactions in their specific interpretive communities. While exchanging their responses and thoughts with peers and the teacher, the children were able to have an opportunity to develop their critical attitudes about different skin colors around them, and to explore their emergent notions about difficult social issues including race and justice.

Creating meanings collaboratively. According to Bakhtin (1981, 1986), learning always requires another person because it cannot occur without unique participation in internal and external social contexts. As the children’s “internal dialogues” surfaced in their “external social context,” they sometimes joined their peers’ imaginary worlds. For example, while reading *Chocolate Me!* (2011), Jimmy thought of “a vanilla” as the thing that represented his skin color, and as Young joined Jimmy’s imaginary world, they were able to create a new title, which was *Vanilla me*. In addition, when the children read *헨리의 자유상자* [Henry’s Freedom Box] (2008), Sue named Henry as a toilet man, and her view was reinforced as Young tried to support her view by pointing out Henry’s insufficient financial condition. By supporting each other’s views, the children collaboratively created meanings within their social contexts.

Exploring diverse perspectives. While reading, the children also enjoyed “a great diversity in interpretation” (Lehr, 1991, p. 15). For instance, when having discussions regarding the benefits and drawbacks of white/dark skin, the children presented their controversial ideas: while Grace supported the author’s perspective on the benefits of dark skin, Sue refuted Grace’s view, pointing out some disadvantages of having dark skin (e.g. being seen as unsanitary and

invisible). In addition, when reading *사라 버스를 타다* [Sarah, Rides the Bus], Young suggested the “painting” idea, and Sam modified Young’s idea by correcting the color from “white” to “pink,” and “painting only face” to “painting all around the body.” These examples demonstrate that, as the children shared their different thoughts on various issues, they could diversify their views by reflecting on their own and others’ values and perspectives.

In short, the children enjoyed multiple voices by sharing their ideas. While sharing each other’s responses, and agreeing/disagreeing with each other’s views, the children were able to be deeply engaged in the stories and to explore diverse perspectives.

Social Justice Literature as a Social Change

According to Sipe and McGuire (2006), multicultural literature works as “a fertile ground for the examination of social inequalities and injustice” by helping children to develop as “more reflective readers and citizens” (p. 10). Multicultural literature used in this study served many important roles, and I narrowed it down to three aspects. First, it provided the children with a chance to be familiar with people with dark skin and their cultures. Most of the children in this study were exposed to white-dominant surroundings. However, while reading different books that depicted African American characters, their attitudes toward people with dark skin became visibly friendly.

Second, the children were able to have valuable opportunities to develop critical perspectives about “differences” by reading the stories of “others.” For example, while reading the social justice books, the children had a chance to picture Henry’s and Sarah’s hardships and struggles as being black people. Also, by comparing the struggling lives of black people with the freedom in the children’s own lives (e.g. freedom to drink milk, to play with peers, and to read

books), the children could better understand the importance of freedom in their lives. Moreover, through indirect experiences with different people in different times, they could have a chance to think about how “what is considered normal” in one culture can be “disapproved of as abnormal in another” (Rosenblatt, 1978, p. 150) (e.g. yielding seats to an elderly person). That is, by encountering different people/cultures consistently through reading social justice literature, the children were able to have an opportunity to develop their critical thinking skills.

Lastly, social justice literature provided the young children with a chance to open discussions about difficult social justice issues including racial diversity, slavery, injustice, freedom, fairness, and racial discrimination. Howard (1991) argues that culturally and ethnically conscious literature serves as a powerful tool to confront “all the preconceived stereotypical hang-ups that imprison us within narrow boundaries” (p. 92). While reading social justice literature, the children were not just responding to a voiceless text. Instead, they used it as a tool to stimulate their own flights to explore real-life problems. In this sense, literature for these children was not simply an aesthetic literary work but a literary vehicle to help them “explore or envision possible selves, remember and revisit personal experiences, reflect on problematic emotions, participate in imaginary lives, negotiate social relationships, and develop their understanding of complex social issues” (Moller & Allen, 2000, p. 168).

Reading Social Justice Literature in a Bilingual Context

Another important finding in this study was that, in sharing their thoughts and responses, the children frequently switched their languages from Korean to English and English to Korean, in order to negotiate meanings in their social contexts. While talking about the social justice books using two different languages, the children were able to express their different thoughts

about diverse social issues in a more comfortable atmosphere, and that helped the children to explore their thoughts more deeply. For instance, as the children were allowed to use two languages, they were able to exchange their different opinions about the benefits and drawbacks of white/black skin color in a more relaxed surrounding, and it caused a more intense debate among the children. Also, while sharing their responses using both Korean and English about Henry's unjust treatment as a slave, the children could deepen their thoughts on Henry's life. In addition, by using their two languages, they could extend their conversations about the texts, and that provided them with opportunities to develop their emergent notions about unfairness, injustice, and freedom in a more comfortable atmosphere.

Social Justice literature in a Korean bilingual context. Previous studies argue that many minority children go to their schools located in indigent districts, and they often encounter difficulty in schools such as low academic achievement (e.g. Cummins, 1986; Minami, 2000; Willig, 1986). However, the children in Ms. Park's classroom were not "typical" minority students because, although the children were not from the mainstream US culture, all of them were from economically affluent families with many literary resources at home. Also, a low academic achievement had never been an issue for these children at their schools. Moreover, their parents indicated that they rarely noticed any discrimination- related issues at their schools.

Given this context, some of the children seemed to consider that they are more similar to white people than black (e.g. when reading *Chocolate Me!*, Sue pointed out that white boys in the illustration are more like "us"). Also, because they were exposed to economically affluent surroundings, they sometimes seemed to believe that they were in a higher position than people with dark skin (e.g. we should "help" them). In this sense, this study challenges the prevalent notion of "marginalization of culturally diverse students" (e.g. Cummins, 1986) because some

minority children can isolate themselves due to their own hostile feeling towards certain racial groups.

Conclusions

The findings of this study add important insights to conversations related to reading literature in young children's classrooms in three aspects. First, this study reinforces the view that readers' responses should be understood within a social and cultural milieu because reading is not a solitary act but a complex social and cultural act. According to Trousdale and Harris (1993), "a reader's encounter with a text is affected as much by what the reader brings to the experience as by what the written text provides" (p. 195). In this study, the children's responses to social justice literature were influenced by ideological orientations in their different social/cultural contexts. Since children create meanings by bringing their cultural and social experiences, their responses are not freed from a dominant racial discourse in their interpretive communities.

Second, this study suggests that young readers creatively participate in reading as they construct different imaginary worlds. The children in this study did not simply focus on interpreting the stories while reading. Instead, they enjoyed creative participation using their imagination. Once the children entered the world of the books, they sometimes deconstructed and recreated them, enjoying their different imaginary worlds. By performing "on" the texts (Sipe, 2008, p. 186), the children had a valuable chance to explore or envision the lives portrayed in the texts. In this sense, creative participation helps young readers to be deeply engaged in the reading and develop their literary understandings.

Thirdly, this study suggests that literary talks, using two languages, can help young bilinguals to deepen their thoughts on literary texts and to develop their responses. In this study, the young bilingual children were able to enjoy “the polyglossia of the texts” and multiple voices while discussing the books by freely switching their languages. In doing this, they sometimes supported each other’s opinions, and other times, they diversified their views. While sharing their thoughts with peers and the teacher through literary talks in a safe and comfortable atmosphere, the children were able to have deeper layers of conversation. In this sense, literary talks using two languages play a vital role for bilingual children to increase their literary understandings and broaden their responses.

Lastly, the way in which Ms. Park used social justice literature as a tool to facilitate the discussions of race with the preschool children suggests that literature dealing with race and social justice themes has the potential to provide young children with a chance to critically think about real-world problems that they meet in their everyday lives. Previous studies argue that literature dealing with social justice themes helps children to question biased attitudes and explore racial/cultural diversity within a broad context of social justice (e.g. Copenhaver-Johnson, Bowman & Johnson, 2007; Martínez-Roldán, 2000). This study reinforces the previous findings that literature dealing with racial diversity and social justice themes helps children to open discussions about critical social issues such as discrimination, slavery, injustice, freedom, and racial diversity.

Lastly, this study suggests that social justice literature can be particularly valuable for young children who may have limited exposure to racial/ethnic diversity. The children in this study were exposed to white-dominant surroundings. However, while reading social justice literature, they were able to have a chance to reduce their biased attitudes toward a certain racial

group, and open their minds to people who have different skin colors from them. From this perspective, it is particularly helpful to read social justice literature to young children who had limited chances to interact with diverse people/culture. However, it is also important to remember that reading social justice literature to young children should be approached carefully considering an individual child's different backgrounds.

Limitations

This study asserts the importance of social justice literature in young bilingual classroom by providing an in-depth portrait of the children's responses to social justice books and their literary talks using two languages within their social and cultural contexts. Yet, in making this claim, there were several limitations in this study. First, although the participating children likely represent preschool Korean bilingual children from similar economic and cultural backgrounds, this study may not be representative of children from other racial, ethnic, and socio-economic backgrounds. Since the findings in this study were specific to the particular case, the relevance of the findings may not extend directly to different contexts. Thus, further research is needed in this area in different bilingual settings.

Another limitation of this study is related to the difficulty of sharing ideas of open-mindedness with the participants' parents. Although I gained the participating parents' trust through long-term relationships with them, since race is a sensitive issue, it seemed that some parents still tried to hide their genuine feelings toward other racial groups. Particularly, I was not able to listen to Sue's mother's racial views toward African Americans due to her refusal to have any interviews. Although, according to her, it was just due to her busy schedule, my impression was she seemed uncomfortable in talking about race-related issues. Some of the participating

mothers also seemed slightly uncomfortable when sharing their racial views with me because they did not want to seem biased. Therefore, in order to capture their genuine feelings, it was important for me to create a comfortable atmosphere in every interview, and that was one of the most challenging parts in conducting this study.

In addition, limited access to participants' homes and schools was another challenge. Since I could not access children's literature experiences at schools and homes, I obtained information about the children's reading outside the KLS only through conversations with their parents. Although in-depth interviews with the mothers for extended time helped me to understand the children's reading experiences outside the KLS, because I had limited access to the children's fathers (except for Grace's father), it was still possible that I missed some important information that could have affected participating children's biased racial attitudes to people with dark skin.

However, despite these limitations, this study is still valuable since it provides teachers and educators with a chance to think about the role of social justice literature in a young children's classroom, particularly in a bilingual context. In addition, the detailed descriptions of the children's responses to the books using both Korean and English can contribute to related fields by illuminating the dynamic vision of young bilingual children's reading of literature. My findings also can provide teachers with some tips on how we can teach racial/ethnic diversity to young bilingual children.

Implications

Schall and Kauffmann (2003) claim "children are capable of reading about and discussing sensitive social issues" (p. 43). However, many teachers avoid talking about race

with young children due to (1) the adult-centric view of children as innocent and simple beings (Polite & Saenger, 2003), or (2) their own discomfort about discussing any race-oriented dialogue (Copenhaver, 2000). In this situation, young children often have limited opportunities to interact with stories dealing with issues of racial diversity and equity (Copenhaver-Johnson, Bowman & Johnson, 2007; Polite & Saenger, 2003). However, Cullingford (1992) asserts “children think and question like adults do as children live in the same context, observe the same things” (p. 1). As young readers, the children in this study were actively interacting with the worlds they live in by reading social justice literature.

The findings of this study provide several implications regarding literature instruction in young bilingual children’s classroom. First, reading literature in bilingual classrooms should be a democratic encounter. Merely attempting to instruct dual language/literary skills to bilingual students in literature classrooms is not sufficient to help students to grow up as individuals who live empowered lives as participants of global communities. Darder (1995) explains that being bilingual means to have “bicultural identity” with different social norms, expectations, and worldviews (p. 324). The children in this study were exposed to different social norms as members of diverse communities. Therefore, in order to create more supportive literary surroundings for young bilingual children, the goal of a literature program has to be that students learn not only bilingual skills but also about “others.” In other words, reading literature in bilingual classrooms should be the first step to explore dynamic “human experiences.”

Secondly, it is crucial for teachers to provide bilingual children with a chance to openly discuss real-life problems using two languages by using social justice literature. In Ms. Park’s classroom, literary discussions helped to develop the children’s critical attitudes toward race and justice that are needed in a democratic society. Thus, it is important that teachers assist young

bilingual children in being engaged in authentic discussions by allowing them to utilize two languages. Simply reading does not help students' active and critical participation (Copenhaver, 2000). By providing bilingual children with a chance to engage in meaningful literary discussions using two languages, teachers can create comfortable environments where young children can "open up dialogues about the construction and negotiation of differences we observe and live" (Enciso, 1997, p. 34).

Thirdly, for more supportive literature environments it is important for teachers to pay considerable attention to bilingual children's social and cultural surroundings. The children in Ms. Park's classroom did not simply consume literary texts. Since readers' responses reflect different ideological orientation of diverse communities (Beach & Hynds, 1991), teachers need to understand what bilingual students experience at home, and how they think, feel, and interpret their different experiences in bi-cultural settings.

In addition, teachers should broaden the range of readers' responses "as ways of forging strong links between stories and children's lives" (Sipe, 2002, p. 482). To this end, teachers should encourage students to freely apply their cultural knowledge, experiences, and cultural backgrounds to literary texts by creating a space where they feel secure in their diverse responses. The children in Ms. Park's classroom were able to express their own spontaneous and honest reaction to texts as the teacher created "response development zone" (Moller & Allen, 2000). Thus, it is important to remember that only when children feel safe in expressing and sharing their responses with peers, they can share diverse perspectives and broaden their responses.

Lastly, in order to support young children's literary discussions, teachers should act as facilitators, participants, mediators, or active listeners (Allen, 1997; Copenhaver-Johnson, 2006). Although Ms. Park was not a veteran reading teacher who had years of experiences in teaching

reading to young children, her efforts to initiate the children's conversations by asking many thought-provoking questions often initiated active discussions among the children. Also, when the children actively shared their responses, she sometimes quietly listened to the children's heated debates. Other times, she actively participated in the children's discussions, and helped them to develop more responses. With the teacher's support, the children were able to deepen their literary understandings and to ask critical questions about different skin colors and diverse social issues. Like this example, teachers should assume diverse roles to create a classroom atmosphere where young children freely share their responses and explore various facets of their reading.

My observations in Ms. Park's classroom began with my personal belief that *all* classrooms, including preschool and bilingual classrooms, should be places that nurture a more just society. Discussing real-life problems such as race, diversity, injustice, and unfamiliar cultures with children at a young age is challenging work (Copenhaver-Johnson, Bowman & Johnson, 2007). However, "our silence disables all our children" (Copenhaver, 2000, p. 15). When we, as teachers, create classrooms where young children appreciate all differences they meet in their daily construction of social lives, *all* children can grow up as democratic individuals who embrace diversity in a global society, and "talk back" (Enciso, 1997) to the world they live in.

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Appendix A

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Appendix B

Sample Interview Questions

Sample Interview Questions for the Teacher, Ms. Park

A. General information

1. 한글 학교에서는 얼마나 가르치셨나요? [How long have you been teaching at the KLS?]
2. 인종, 성별, 나이, 계급, 종교, 언어에 관련해서 본인을 어떻게 규정하고 계신가요? [How do you identify yourself regarding race, gender, age, class, religion, and language?]
3. 한국에서는 얼마나 오래 사셨나요? [How long have you lived in Korea?]
4. 한국에서는 어니서/몇년 정도 티칭하셨나요? [How long/where have you taught in Korea?]
5. 한국에서는 어떤 선생님이셨나요? [How do you self-evaluate your teaching skills? What kinds of teacher you were in Korea?]
6. 미국은 어떻게 오게 되셨나요? [What brought you to move to the US?]
7. 한글학교는 어떻게 시작하게 되셨나요? [What encouraged you to teach children at the KLS?]
8. 한글학교 아이들을 가르친것과 관련해 어떤 경험들이 있으신가요? [Could you tell me about your experiences in teaching Korean/Korean American children at the KLS?]

B. Literacy activities and racial attitudes

1. 학생들에게 다문화와 관련된 문학을 읽어주시는 목표는 무엇인가요? [What are your goals for reading social justice literature to your students?]
2. 읽기 쓰기와 관련된 선생님 반의 커리큘럼에 대해서 말해주시겠어요? [Could you tell me about your literacy curriculum?]
3. 선생님의 티칭과관련된 철학은 무엇인가요? [What is your teaching philosophy?]
4. 한국에서 또는 미국에서 다문화 교육에 대해 어떻게 생각하시나요? [What are your views on multicultural education in Korea/in the US?]
5. 흑인에 대해 어떤 견해를 가지고 계신가요? [Could you share your racial attitudes toward African Americans?]
6. 다문화 관련 책을 아이들에게 읽어주는데 있어 장점과 어려운 점은 무엇이 있나요? [What are the advantages/challenges of reading social justice literature to young children?]
7. 다문화 책을 아이들에게 어떻게 읽어주시게 되었나요? [What encouraged you to include social justice literature in your literacy curricula?]

Sample Interview Questions for the Parents

A. General information

1. 인종, 성별, 나이, 계급, 종교, 언어에 관련해서 본인을 어떻게 규정하고 계신가요? [How do you identify yourself regarding race, gender, age, class, religion, and language?]
2. 한국에서는 얼마나 사셨고 미국은 어떻게 오게 되셨나요? [How long you lived in Korea and what brought you to the US?]
3. 아이들과 이야기할때 주로 어떤 언어를 쓰시나요? [What languages do you usually speak when you talk with your child?]
4. 어떤 학위를 소지하고 계신가요? [What degree/degrees you hold?]
5. 남편/본인은 어떤일을 한국에서 어떤일을 하셨나요? 현재 직업을 무엇인가요? [What was your/your husband's occupation in Korea? What is your/his current job?]
6. 집에서 주로 어떤 언어를 사용하시나요? [What languages are spoken at home?]

B. Literacy activities and racial attitudes

1. 아이들이 집에서 어떤 책을 읽는지 말해주실 수 있나요? [Could you share their child's literature-related experiences at home?]
2. 흑인들에 대해 어떤 견해를 가지고 계신가요? [Could you talk about your racial attitudes toward African Americans?]
3. 다른 인종들, 아시아인, 멕시코 인 그리고 토착 미국인등에 대해 어떻게 생각하세요? [Can you share your racial attitudes toward other racial groups, including other Asians, Mexicans, or Native Americans?]
4. 다문화와 관련된 책을 아이들에게 읽어주신적이 있나요? 그런 책을 읽어주는 것에 대해 어떻게 생각하시나요? [Have you read multicultural literature to your child? What are your views on reading your child multicultural literature?]
5. 아이가 흑인들을 주인공으로 다룬 미디어를 본경험이 있나요? Could you talk about your child's exposure to media that focused on African American people/culture?
6. 아이의 학교의 인종 구성이 어떻게 되나요? [What are the racial demographics of your child's school?]
7. 혹시 흑인 친구가 있으신가요? 아니면 흑인이랑 어울린적이 있으신가요? [Have you ever had African American friends? Or have you ever socialized with them?]
8. 흑인들에 관련해 혹시 안좋은 경험이 있으신가요? [Have you had any negative experiences with African Americans?]

Sample Interview Questions for the School Personnel

A. General information

1. 인종, 성별, 나이, 계급, 종교, 언어에 관련해서 본인을 어떻게 규정하고 계신가요? [How do you identify yourself regarding race, gender, age, class, religion, and language?]
2. 한국에서는 얼마나 사셨고 미국은 어떻게 오게 되셨나요? [How long you lived in Korea and what brought you to the US?]
3. 어떤 학위를 가지고 계신가요? [What degree/degrees you hold?]
4. 한국에서 직업은 무엇이었나요? 미국에서 현재 직업은 무엇인가요? [What was your occupation in Korea? What is your current job in the US?]
5. 언제 부터 어떤 계기로 한글 학교를 시작하게 되셨나요? [How/when did you start to serve as a principal at the KLS?]
6. 한글학교의 목표는 무엇인가요? [What are the goals of the KLS?]
7. 교장선생님으로서 어떤 힘든 부분이 있으신가요? [What are some challenges as the executive director?]

B. Literacy activities and racial attitudes

1. 한국에서, 미국에서의 다문화 교육에 대해 어떻게 생각하시나요? [What are you views toward multicultural education in Korea/in US?]
2. 티칭에 대해 어떤 철학을 가지고 계신가요? [What is your teaching philosophy?]
3. 혹시 흑인 친구가 있으신가요? 아니면 흑인이랑 어울린적이 있으신가요? [Have you ever had African American friends? Or have you ever socialized with them?]
4. 흑인들에 관련해 혹시 안좋은 경험이 있으신가요? [Have you had any negative experiences with African Americans?]
5. 흑인들에 대해 어떤 견해를 가지고 계신가요? [Could you talk about your racial attitudes toward African Americans?]
6. 아시아인, 멕시코 인 그리고 토착 미국인등에 대해 어떻게 생각하세요? [Can you share your racial attitudes toward other racial groups, including other Asians, Mexicans, or Native Americans?]
7. 한글학교에서 다문화 커리큘럼을 넣는것에 대해 어떻게 생각하세요? [What do you think about including multicultural curricula to classes at the KLS?]

Sample Interview Questions for the Participating Children

A. General questions

1. **는 한국 사람이야 미국사람이야? [Are you a Korean or an American?]
2. 영어랑 한국말이랑 어떤 말 쓸때 더 편해? [In what language do you feel more comfortable? Why?]
3. 학교에서 누구랑 친해? [Who are your close friends? Tell me about your closest friends at your school/ at the KLS].
4. 한국에 가본적 있어? [Have you been to Korea?]
5. 학교 재미있어? [Do you like your school/KLS?]

B. Racial attitudes

1. 어떤 책 읽는거 좋아해? [What kinds of books do you like to read?]
2. 제일 좋아하는 책은 어떤거야? [What is your favorite book?]
3. 스토리 타임 좋아? [Do you like Story Time?]
4. 얼굴색이 검은 사람들 어떻게 생각해? [What are your views toward people with dark skin?]
5. 혹시 흑인 친구들 학교에 있어? [Do you have black friends at school?]
6. 이 책 재미있었어? (좋으면/싫으면) 왜? [Did you enjoy reading the book? Why did you like/dislike it?]
7. 이 책 주인공 어떤거 같아? [How did you feel about the character in the book?]